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HENRY SALT, ESQ. F.R.S. &c.&c.

THE

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

HENRY SALT, ESQ. F.R.S. &c.

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S LATE

CONSUL GENERAL IN EGYPT.

BY J. J. HALLS, Esq.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,

Publisher in Ordinary to His Majesty.

1834.

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Sal/Hal/Lif
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TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES YORKE,

&c. &c. &c.*

My dear Sir,

Allow me to return you my sincere acknowledgments for the favour of your kind permission to dedicate the following work to you.

The name of Yorke has so long been celebrated in the annals of our common country, that I confess I feel some pride and gratification in being permitted to usher my present undertaking into the world, under the immediate auspices of a distinguished descendant of so illustrious a family.

This avowal, perhaps, might appear too much to savour of vanity, were I not guided on the

* Some months after this work was in the press, it was with feelings of the deepest regret that I learned the death of the distinguished individual to whom the following pages are, by his former permission, inscribed. He was the genuine type of the upright and dignified English gentleman, and those even who differed from him in political sentiments, must ever hold his memory in high estimation as a sincere lover of his country, and as a most honourable and worthy man.—E.

April 20th, 1834.

occasion by more cogent motives; but the favour and the friendship which you uniformly evinced towards the late Mr. Salt, your extensive acquirements in many of the subjects which occupied no inconsiderable portion of his research, and the warm zeal with which you promoted everything that could tend to his advantage and welfare; all seem to concur in pointing you out as the individual to whom these pages might be, with the greatest propriety, addressed.

The sincere friendship which for so many years subsisted between me and Mr. Salt, and your warm exertions in his behalf, induce me almost to regard you in the light of a personal benefactor, and, I am sure, should he be permitted to look down upon human affairs, he would behold with heartfelt satisfaction this humble testimony of my respect for a character, which he so much admired, and so truly esteemed.

I remain, my dear sir, with great respect,

Yours most sincerely,

J. J. HALLS.

London, Jan. 1st, 1834.

TO THE READER.

THE following work has been undertaken in consequence of an early promise, made by me to Mr. Salt, that, in the event of my surviving him, I would write his life. Circumstances, over which I had little or no control, for a time prevented me from discharging my obligation; but having at length been furnished with the necessary documents, I have since spared neither diligence nor pains in bringing my labour to a conclusion.

In the arrangement of the work, I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to keep the chain of the narrative unbroken, and in developing the life, I have generally relied more upon the correspondence than upon any other source of information.

The account of Mr. Salt's transactions with the British Museum, is of too long and of involved a description to admit of its being

terwoven into the body of the work, and it is therefore given in a separate article at the end of the book.

In conclusion, I beg leave to return my best thanks to those individuals, who have been pleased in the progress of the undertaking to favour me with their friendly advice and with many interesting materials. In these respects I feel myself particularly indebted to the Earl of Mountnorris, to the Right Honourable Charles Yorke, and to William Hamilton, Esq. the author of the "Egyptiaca." I also owe similar acknowledgments to Sir Francis Darwin, Captain Mangles, Henry Beechy, Esq., Mrs. Morgan, &c. and especially to Bingham Richards, Esq. the firm, indefatigable, and uniform friend of Mr. Salt, during a period of thirty-three years.

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THE LIFE

OF

HENRY SALT, ESQ. F.R.S.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Mr. Salt.—His Family and Connexions.—Early disposition and character.—His progress at school—Illness while there.—His studies in drawing.—Sent to London as a student in portrait-painting under Mr. Farington.—His first acquaintance with the present Biographer.—His deficiency in his profession.—Studies at the Royal Academy.—His critical situation.—Persuades his father to place him under the tuition of Mr. Hoppner.

HENRY SALT, Esq. was born at Lichfield June 14, 1780, and was the youngest child of Thomas and Alice Salt. His father was a highly-respectable medical practitioner, for upwards of fifty years, in the city of Lichfield. He was the son of an industrious and worthy tradesman of Bingley in Staffordshire, who, not having any

other child, bestowed a liberal education on his son, and brought him up to the medical profession. Soon after Mr. Salt had completed his studies he was appointed surgeon to a militia regiment (I believe the Lincoln), in which capacity he continued for several years, when he settled at Lichfield, and married Miss Alice Butt, the daughter of Mr. Butt, a surgeon of that place, who eventually relinquished his practice in favour of his son-in-law.

In this situation Mr. Salt actively continued to pursue his professional avocations till within a few years of his death. He was a man of sound sense, of considerable talents, both natural and acquired, indefatigable in his employment, and possessed of great knowledge of the world, united to no inconsiderable share of original humour. By his temperate habits, unwearied diligence, and a frugality bordering upon parsimony, he was in the course of his practice enabled to accumulate a handsome competency, and to bring up a numerous family with great credit and respectability.

His wife was descended from a good family. She was an excellent woman, an exemplary wife and mother, and was greatly beloved by all her children. She was the daughter of Cary and

Elizabeth Butt, who had also issue, John Martin Butt, M.D. who died at Bath, 1769, leaving no issue; George Butt, D.D. Rector of Stanford, Vicar of Kidderminster, and King's Chaplain, who died at Stanford, and left three children. The third brother of Mrs. Salt was the Rev. Thomas Simon Butt. He for some years held the living of Arley, presented to him by Lord Valentia, and which he subsequently resigned in favour of his son, the Rev. Thomas Butt, the present rector of Kynnersley in Shropshire. The Rev. Thomas Simon Butt also held the perpetual curacy of Blurton, where he died in 1801. I mention this gentleman particularly because, from his acquaintance with Lord Valentia an accidental circumstance arose which, as will be shown hereafter, had a singular influence over the future destiny of Henry Salt. It may also be as well to notice in this place, that the Rev. George Butt was tutor to his lordship during three years, and that it was under his roof at Stanford that the latter formed a friendship with John Butt Salt, M.D. the elder brother of Henry. The friendship that had subsisted between Lord Valentia and the Butt family was subsequently drawn somewhat closer by the marriage of the Rev. Charles Cameron, a descendant

of the Lytteltons, with Lucy Lyttelton Butt, daughter of Dr. George Butt and godchild to his lordship's mother.

It has been before observed, that Mr. and Mrs. Salt were burthened with a numerous family. They had in all eight children, of whom Jane was the eldest. She was married, in the first instance, to Robert Halls, M.D. my uncle by the half blood. He lived only a few years after his marriage, and left no issue. His widow subsequently married Lieutenant-Colonel de Vismes, of the Guards, who having lately succeeded to a title, she is now la Comtesse de Vismes. She was, when I became acquainted with her, a fine and lady-like looking woman, and possessed very pleasing and amiable manners. Her former marriage with my uncle led to my acquaintance with other branches of the Salt family, and ultimately to that intimate friendship between me and her youngest brother which his death alone dissolved, after it had subsisted for more than thirty years. The Comtesse is still living, and has several children.

Her eldest brother, John Butt Salt, M.D. was a man of genius and talents, and of a most gentle and amiable disposition, very able in his profession, and respected and beloved by all who

had the pleasure of being known to him. With his natural endowments and cultivated mind, his success in life would probably have been certain had he not been attacked by a lingering and fatal disease in early life, which crippled his energies, depressed his spirits, and finally conducted him to an untimely grave. He died unmarried in 1804.

The next child, Elizabeth Butt Salt, married Mr. Simon Morgan, a respectable surgeon at Lichfield, who succeeded to her father's practice. —The fate of the next brother, Thomas Salt, was peculiarly melancholy. He went to sea in a trading vessel, which probably foundered, as neither he nor the ship were ever again heard of.—Charles, the fifth child, was brought up to the medical profession, and is now an able and experienced practitioner at Cheltenham. He first married Miss Meacock, of Chester, by whom he had Caroline, his only child. After the death of his mother he was united, in second marriage, to Miss Wolferston, of Stafford.—William and Catherine, who both died in early life, were succeeded by Henry, the eighth and last child; the history of whose life it is now my interesting, but melancholy office to unfold.

Of the early years of Henry Salt, from his infancy to the age of about seventeen, I have been able to obtain very slender information. The Comtesse de Vismes was much from home when he was very young, and of course was only slightly acquainted with him in the earlier part of his life. But she informs me that, when a boy, "he was of a most sweet and amiable disposition; not of a studious turn, but volatile and of quick feelings, though easily checked, and particularly pleasing both in person and manner. Like most other boys, he never learned anything but what *he was obliged to do*, which proves that there must have been much talent to have enabled him to arrive at the knowledge he possessed in maturer years."

From all that I have either personally known, or heard of him, I am induced to believe that this account is substantially correct, with the exception merely of his never "learning anything but what he was forced to do." I have no doubt that this was the case as far as *school studies* were concerned, but he certainly, from his earliest years, was excessively fond of reading and of acquiring desultory knowledge, whenever he could get an hour to himself. It is,

however, very natural for his elder sister to have fallen into this error, as her long absence from home in his younger days must have deprived her of the opportunity of closely observing his real habits and character, and have led her to rely on the reports of others, who very probably related nothing but strict truth when they accused him of idleness in acquiring his school exercises.

His sister, Mrs. Morgan, who, from her generally residing at Lichfield, had greater facilities afforded her of judging of his pursuits, has written me the following particulars of her brother's boyish occupations, which she must have daily been in the habit of observing:—"My brother Henry," she says, "was in his early days particularly fond of reading, and when a child whatever money he had given him, he chiefly spent in books, and would lie for hours in the garden in fine weather, reading. He was remarkably good-tempered, and of a most cheerful and affectionate disposition; never forgetting the poorest person who was in the habit of coming to his father's surgery, and always made a point of going to see all the old washerwomen, &c. &c. (when he visited Lichfield in after years) whom he had known in his childhood."

This account, and particularly the latter part, so completely corresponds with everything I knew of his character in after life, that there can be no doubt of its accuracy; indeed, had it been otherwise I should not know in what way to account for the extensive *general* knowledge he certainly possessed at the age of about seventeen, when he first settled in London. It is true, he read with singular rapidity, and as quickly digested, as he correctly retained, the contents of every volume he perused. Yet still this extraordinary rapidity could itself have been scarcely acquired without long habit and experience. I believe at this period he was a very indifferent classic, but the ground-work had been laid, and in after years, he successfully laboured to remedy this deficiency, which must have arisen much more from negligence and volatility than from any want of ability to acquire this particular branch of knowledge.

The taste which he subsequently displayed for this species of study was chiefly derived from his brother, Dr. Salt, who was himself an excellent scholar and an elegant writer. It appears uncertain at what time of life Henry Salt was first sent to school; probably it was not at a very early age, as he was the youngest child, and a

great favourite with his family, by all of whom, except by his father, he was rather spoiled in his juvenile days. I remember his telling me a trifling anecdote of himself, that happened at this period, and which is too characteristic to be omitted. When he and an elder brother were called in to attend the dessert after dinner, his father would sometimes divide the *lobe* of an orange between them; but on one occasion, to their great dismay, he shared a raisin in the same manner. The elder boy despatched his half at once, but Henry very indignantly asked, "If that was *all* he was to have?"—"Certainly," said his father.—"Then, sir," replied the child, sulkily, "*I sha'n't choose none*;" and threw back *his* portion on the table.

The first school to which he was sent was the free school at Lichfield, for English only, endowed by Richard Minors, Esq. He was then removed to Market Bosworth, in Leicestershire, and was placed under the care of the Rev. Mr. W——. At this school, founded by Edward the Third, Henry Salt commenced the principal part of his education. Here he formed, among others, an intimacy with Mr. Holworthy, one of the scholars, who afterwards became distinguished in London as a water-colour landscape

painter and instructor, of very considerable reputation. This circumstance probably first led Salt to cultivate his talents for painting, and finally to make choice of it as his future profession.

At what period of life he was sent to this school I have not exactly been able to ascertain, but it seems most likely that it was about the year 1790 or 1791, when he was ten or eleven years of age. He does not appear to have remained at Bosworth more than three or four years, as I learn, from our common friend, Mr. Bingham Richards, that he first met him at Birmingham when they were about fourteen years old, in 1795, whither Henry had been sent from Lichfield to be improved in the classics under his brother, Dr. Salt, and to benefit by the instructions of several masters, among whom was one of the name of Barber, a superior drawing-master, whose lessons Salt and Richards attended together.

Of the progress he made at Bosworth in classical, or in other departments of literature, it is now difficult to determine; it may be supposed it could not have been very considerable, as I learn through his schoolfellow, Mr. Worthington, that though a clever, he was a very idle boy,

full of spirits and fun, and the ringleader in every frolic, and probably in every mischievous prank. He was, however, a kind-hearted, good-dispositioned lad, and very popular among his companions. One of his favourite tricks at this school, I am told, was to puzzle his master, for whose abilities he did not entertain the most profound respect, by asking him the meaning of some difficult passage with which he had previously made himself well acquainted, and which, if the old man did not properly explain, Salt would declare he had interpreted wrongly, and would bet a shilling that he proved him in error. "Very well, sir," his master would reply, "pray do;" when Henry would very gravely state his authorities, and thus entrap his antagonist, to the no small amusement of himself and his schoolfellows. I am the more inclined to give credit to this story, because, in after life, I have occasionally known him play off the same game upon others, for whose pretensions he felt no great share of veneration.

While he was resident at Bosworth he was, though a mere boy, enabled to save the life of one of his young companions. I have some recollection of his having formerly related to me the circumstances of the story, but my remem-

brance of them is too indistinct to allow me to give the particulars with any degree of accuracy; I have, however, been able to communicate recently with the gentleman whose life he was the means of preserving, and who has obligingly furnished me with the following account of the accident:

"Stony Stratford, March 6, 1833.

"SIR,

"I am sorry that it is not in my power to communicate to you any particulars or anecdotes of the late Mr. Henry Salt, with whom I was at school when quite a boy, almost a child, and I do not recollect seeing him afterwards. He was instrumental in saving my life, but I know nothing more of that event than the mere fact. I had fallen into a pond of water, and had undergone all the pangs of drowning, the effect of which is still strongly impressed upon my mind. I found myself the next morning wrapped up in blankets, lying before the fire, and was told that Mr. Salt had learned of my being in the water and had extricated me, and I should suppose at some hazard, for I had sunk, and the water was of considerable depth. I was only eight or nine years old when this event happened. It was always matter of regret to

me that I had not the good fortune to meet with one to whom I was so much indebted.

"I remain, sir, your most obedient,

"J. F. CONGREVE."

"To J. J. Halls, Esq."

During Salt's stay at the above school he was seized with a most severe and obstinate attack of ague, and was placed under the care of Mr. Power, then an eminent surgeon at Bosworth, and now a physician at Lichfield, who recently informed Mrs. Morgan that his patient's spleen was very much diseased after his recovery from the ague. This appears rather a singular fact, as it was of this very complaint, as will be shown in the sequel, that he died about thirty-six years afterwards, and which probably occasioned many of the severe illnesses from which he suffered during the remainder of his life; so that, in his case at least, the imaginary lines of Pope appear to apply with all the force of reality.

As man, perhaps, the moment of his breath
Receives the lurking principle of death,
The young disease, that must subdue at length,
Grows with his growth and strengthens with his strength.

Not long after Mr. Salt left Bosworth he went to Birmingham, as has been before stated, at

which place he remained for some time, and thence again visited Lichfield, where he was placed under the care of the Rev. Thomas Harwood of that city (now D.D.) With this gentleman he remained till his education was completed, during which period he received lessons in drawing from Mr. Glover, the well-known water-colour painter, who subsequently arrived at so much estimation as an artist in the metropolis. Under this able instructor his progress, I am informed, was exceedingly rapid, so much so indeed, that some of the friends of his family persuaded his father to send him to London, and to place him under the tuition and guidance of Joseph Farington, Esq. R.A. a landscape-painter of reputation and of very genflemanlike manners, in order that he might have his education as an artist completed.

The choice of the instructor appears to have been singular, as Henry Salt had been all along designed for the department of portrait, in which style neither Mr. Farington, nor indeed any of the preceding teachers, could be supposed to possess even a competent knowledge. The measure was, however, determined upon, and young Henry was accordingly dispatched to London in 1797, at about the age of seventeen.

As a student in portrait-painting he had unquestionably lost much time under his previous instructors, nor was he likely to profit in a much greater degree, in that department of art, by the precepts of the gentleman to whose superintendence he was now consigned. It was singular, however, as matters turned out in the sequel, that a more fortunate selection could scarcely have been made; so mysteriously does the inscrutable hand of Providence direct us to that destiny which it is our ultimate lot to fulfil.

It was nearly at the time of Salt being placed with Mr. Farington that I first became acquainted with him. I had been sent to London during the spring and summer months, to be introduced to several artists of distinction, and to have the benefit of studying some eminent works of art in various collections, previously to my settling professionally in the capital the following winter. Salt in the mean while had heard of my arrival, and called upon me at my lodgings, in consequence of the connexion then subsisting between our families. He was at that time a tall, thin, and somewhat ungain-looking young man, of insinuating address, and of frank and pleasing manners. I was interested in him at our first interview, quickly returned his visit, and we

soon became intimate companions, and finally inseparable friends. I was some years older than he, and far more advanced in my professional studies; but from my having been brought up in a very secluded manner, he at that time greatly surpassed me in knowledge of the world.

On his arrival in London he was ignorant of the use of oil colours, knew nothing, or next to nothing, of drawing from plaster or from the human figure, and, with the exception of landscape, was altogether unacquainted with composition and design. He had, indeed, from the beginning of his career in London, a sad up-hill game to play; but his strong natural intellect, good taste and feeling, joined to an accurate eye and some perseverance, when he could bring himself seriously to apply, enabled him in a comparatively short period to master several difficulties which he had at first looked upon as insurmountable.

I believe I was at his first starting, and for some time afterwards, of considerable service to him while engaged in learning the rudiments of the art. He used often to come and drink tea and pass the evening with me, while I was employed in sketching subjects from different

authors; and in the day-time I used occasionally to call upon him, and either correct his drawings from the plaster, or instruct him in the management of oil colours, when he was engaged in copying pictures from the old masters, with which Mr. Farington supplied him. On these occasions his spirits sometimes suffered a good deal from depression, when he witnessed the facility with which long practice and experience enabled me to overcome difficulties which, with all his pains and labour, he felt himself unable to vanquish.

At these times I used to console him in the best way I could, by telling him that painting could only be attained by very slow and progressive steps, that it was in fact the art of seeing objects correctly, and of representing them with truth, and that the very consciousness he evinced of his own deficiencies, and which almost drove him to despair, was to me the surest sign of his ultimate success. With such arguments as these I used frequently to dissipate the cloud that hung upon his spirits; but when under its influence he appeared the very image of inertness and misery.

As surely, however, as he recovered from one of these fits of despondency, so surely did he

rouse himself to action, and successfully encounter the obstacles which, perhaps, only on the preceding day he had imagined he was wholly unable to surmount. The truth was, that he felt like a man of talents and quick perceptions, and was disgusted at the idea of having to acquire some of the more simple rudiments of his art at a period when the vigour of his mind and the ardour of his fancy should have been exercised in embodying his ideas, instead of learning the technical rules by which he could alone hope to render them intelligible. I speak more particularly of the time of his stay with Mr. Farington, though I believe I am justified in stating that he experienced this feeling, with no inconsiderable force, throughout his whole career as an artist. His defects in the instances to which I have alluded cannot be attributed to his instructor, who, I have reason to know, discharged the duties of the trust reposed in him to the very best of his ability. It was no fault of his that Salt, though from the beginning designed for a portrait-painter, had been placed under a succession of teachers exclusively devoted to landscape; nor was he in any respect answerable for the error which had been committed when he himself was selected for the

office, in preference to some one of the leading portrait-painters of the day.

On Salt's first arrival in London Mr. Farington appears to have been aware of his pupil's defective education, in many essential requisites, for the practice of that department of the art which he was destined to follow, and did everything in his power to remedy the evil, not by setting him to copy his own landscapes, but by bending the whole of his attention to the study of the human figure, and to the acquirement of a competent knowledge of the practical management of oil-colours. He began by employing him in copying outlines * of figures and groups, taken from the best masters. These were succeeded by others, in which light and shadow were introduced, and, when his scholar had become a tolerable proficient in these exercises, he gradually led him to the study of the plaster and of oil painting, and finally got him admitted a student in the Royal Academy.

Here I believe Salt made no very great improvement; he certainly gained no honorary distinction; and I know that he entertained a

* Some of these early studies by Salt I have still in my possession, and they are drawn with great spirit and accuracy.—E.

great dislike to the place, which, as the establishment was then regulated, is, perhaps, not much to be wondered at. Years after he had left the profession, and had become distinguished as a traveller, I have frequently passed Somerset House in his company, and scarcely can call to mind an instance when he did not point to the building and give a kind of involuntary shudder at the recollection of the unpleasant feelings he had experienced while a student within its walls. In fact, the Academy in his day, as far as respected the Antique School, was placed on a very different footing from the one to which it has since attained, not only in regard to its internal regulations, but in the general character of the students. At that period the latter were left almost entirely to their own guidance, and in truth, the whole scene produced a lamentable display of idleness, vulgarity, and indecorum, which must have proved very repugnant to the feelings of a young man of Salt's natural good taste and acquired habits, for, thoughtless and eccentric as he occasionally appeared, he never was low-minded nor ungentlemanlike.

Matters were much better conducted in the Life Academy, where the visiter being constantly present, was enabled to preserve excel-

lent order; the class of students also was of a higher description, being mostly composed of grown-up young men, or of those already established in their profession. But, to return:— During the time of his remaining under the direction of Mr. Farington, Salt's professional progress was, upon the whole, satisfactory, though up to the period of his quitting him he was still deficient in the management of oil-colours, a part of the art which, as applied to the human figure, his master himself was not qualified to teach. In other respects he reaped considerable advantage from his instructions.

Mr. Farington was a gentleman in his manners and conduct, and had acquired, by the experience of a long life passed in all the various grades of society, a deep knowledge of mankind. This knowledge he took pains to impart to his pupil, and being fond of his art, and impressed with high notions of its dignity, he endeavoured to instil into the mind of Salt a similar attachment to the profession, as well as the general importance of character and conduct in life.

How far his exertions were successful in relation to the supposed dignity of the occupation, it might be hazardous to determine; but I am disposed to believe, however exalted the art may

be in itself, and however difficult of attainment, that Salt, even at this early period, possessed far too much penetration and sagacity not to be sensible of the small degree of estimation in which it is held in England, when compared with that which it obtained during the splendid pontificates of Julius the Second and Leo the Tenth. Indeed, I am persuaded that about this time he began to perceive the great difficulties of the situation in which he had been unwarily placed, and to form the determination of seizing the first opportunity of emancipating himself from a dilemma in which the chance even of ultimate success must be purchased by years of drudgery, disappointment, and poverty.

His father had been led to expect that, after the expiration of the term with Mr. Farington, his son would be in a condition to provide for his own subsistence, without any farther dependence upon his support, and began to feel rather impatient when he discovered that there was still so much to be accomplished before Henry could be sufficiently advanced in his studies to enter on the commencement even of his professional career. He probably felt, however, that he had gone too far to admit of his receding, and was therefore, on a proper representation of

the case being made, readily induced to act with considerable liberality towards his son, and to make up, as far as lay in his power, for the former defects of his education.

I had myself been now established in London in the practice of the profession for several years, during which time a sincere and mutual friendship had gradually been cemented between me and Salt. He frequently called upon me while I was engaged in painting historical and other pictures, and at these times we used to converse on professional prospects and on other topics. His judgment was generally correct, and his taste considerable, so that I was often enabled to profit by the critical remarks which he was in the habit of dealing out with no very sparing hand. From the intimacy that subsisted between us, we had now few subjects of concealment, and he used to confide to me all his fears, his embarrassments, and his hopes.

At this period nothing indeed could appear more seriously alarming than his situation. Without the practical knowledge of portrait-painting, which could alone afford him the smallest chance of success in the wide field of competition on which he was expected immediately to enter — without any adequate resources,

and perhaps in involved circumstances, and with the feelings and high spirit of a gentleman, his prospects seemed every hour to be growing more fearfully desperate.

He hesitated to communicate his situation to his father, whom he had not hitherto tried upon subjects of this nature, and with whose peculiarities in other respects he was well acquainted; still, however, an application in this quarter appeared to be the only right and prudent course to pursue, and I urged him by every argument that a strong regard could suggest, at least to make the experiment. I mentioned the absolute necessity of persuading his father to place him, for a year at least, under the care of some leading portrait-painter of the day, before he attempted to practise his profession on his own account; and particularly pointed out Mr. Hoppner, not only as the most eminent painter of his day, but also as the person best qualified to afford him that insight into portrait of which he stood so much in need. I begged of him also to conceal nothing from his father of his general affairs.

Whether at that time he complied with the latter part of this advice I do not exactly recollect, but he wrote to his father to request that

he might be placed under Mr. Hoppner, and to explain the circumstances of the case; and he readily obtained his consent to the measure, with the promise of support during the time he might remain under his proposed new instructor. I think also that Mr. Farington himself wrote to Lichfield, and advised the step to be taken; but I know that Salt and that gentleman parted excellent friends, and continued so till the death of the latter; indeed Salt always spoke of him with great respect, and entertained a grateful remembrance of his kindness, both as a teacher and judicious adviser. He had, in all, been with him not quite three years.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Hoppner's liberality.—Alarming intelligence from Lichfield.—A dilemma.—Illness of Salt's mother.—Her death. — Salt's letters on the occasion.—His own dangerous illness.—Dr. Darwin's opinion.—Salt's aberration of mind. —Anecdote.—His recovery and return to London.—Pecuniary embarrassments.—Hopelessness as to success in his profession.—Errors in his education as a portrait-painter.—His social character.—Devotion to the gentler sex.—First Love.—Death of the young object of his affection.—Dreams.—Pernicious habit of procrastination. —Letters from Salt.—His fits of energy and promptitude. —Meditates a change in his situation.—Unexpected opportunity.

In the beginning of 1800 Salt became the pupil of Mr. Hoppner, when he wanted a few months of attaining his twentieth year. The progress he made under this new instructor was rapid and considerable in every essential requisite of the art, and he appears to have given great satisfaction to his master, from the following somewhat ludicrous extract of a letter, which I received from the latter after Salt had been with him some months :—

"Your friend Salt is working very diligently, and I am very well pleased with his progress, and with his behaviour — but how can he fail in either under such a *master?* By the time I have licked him into shape he will be as *great a bear* as any of us. Don't be jealous!"

"August, 1800."

During the period of his remaining with Mr. Hoppner, I should think in all about a year and a half, Salt was not domiciliated in the house; he lived in lodgings of his own, but in every other respect was received into the family more in the capacity of a friend and relative than in that of a mere pupil. The table was at all times open to him, and in every respect he was treated with an hospitality and liberality which few young men similarly situated have often experienced. Salt was not a man to forget obligations of this or any other kind, and he ever after retained the sincerest respect and attachment for every member of the family, and particularly for his eminent instructor, who was destined, only a few years afterwards, to meet an untimely grave in the full tide of his success and reputation.

For several years previously to Salt's introduction, I had been on intimate terms with the whole family, and frequently used to meet Henry

there at dinner and in the evening, when we were always welcome to drop in uninvited. It was a most agreeable house to visit at, and some of my happiest recollections are intimately interwoven with the hours I passed under its hospitable roof. It was my fate some years after to attend Mr. Hoppner in his dying hours, and to follow him to his grave. His widow died only a few years ago, when I was again called upon to attend the last mournful ceremony. The family is now scattered in different parts of the earth; poor Salt is gone, and I feel a blank in my existence which can never be filled up on this side of the tomb. I beg pardon of my readers for this short digression, but I feel it a kind of sacred duty to bear this now unavailing testimony of regard to the departed friends of my youth and manhood. I am still intimate with several of the family, and particularly with the able and accomplished gentleman who at present fills, with so much ability, the arduous and delicate office of Consul-General at the Portuguese court of Miguel.

A few months after Salt had been fixed in his new situation, Mr. Hoppner was thrown from his gig on his way to his country house at Fulham, and had the misfortune to severely fracture his

right arm. This accident confined him for several months; during which period Salt was obliged to pursue his studies unaided by the superintending eye of his instructor, which proved of course some drawback on his advancement. His progress, however, by the end of the year, was considerable and satisfactory; but early in the ensuing spring a severe domestic calamity awaited him, which unnerved him for a long period, and, in its consequences, had nearly terminated his existence.

In March 1801 he accidentally met an acquaintance in the street, who had just arrived from Lichfield, and from whom he received the melancholy intelligence that his mother was dying. Her situation, whether from the fear of interfering with his studies, or from prudential motives, had been purposely concealed by his father, and the blow thus suddenly reaching him, fell with double force. He was doatingly fond of his mother, and the thought of her dying in his absence drove him nearly to distraction. He instantly, however determined, at every hazard, to go down to Lichfield that night; but here a difficulty presented itself, which I doubt was not of very unfrequent occurrence at that period. He had no money.

In this dilemma he resolved to go to Mr. Hoppner, and explain his unhappy situation to him, who not only recommended his immediate departure, but liberally furnished him with the means. Salt called upon me before he set off, to acquaint me with his purpose, and I shall never forget his expressions of gratitude towards Mr. Hoppner on the occasion. He repaid the money on his return, but years afterwards he could not speak of the transaction without tears gushing from his eyes.

The Lichfield coaches were unfortunately that night, which was cold and dreary, all full in the inside, so that he was forced to take his place among the outside passengers—a mode of travelling he had never been accustomed to in cold weather, and which his then shattered condition rendered peculiarly unfavourable. I shook hands at parting with him with melancholy forebodings, which the result too fully justified; but to have stopped him was impossible. At Northampton he fainted away, and it was with the utmost difficulty he was recovered, and enabled to pursue his journey to Hinckley, where he again became so unwell that he was obliged to proceed during the remainder of his route in a post-chaise.

On his arrival at Lichfield he found his mother much worse than he had even anticipated. She was insensible, and for some hours did not recognise him. He was, however, very affectionately received by his father. But his sufferings during this period of his life will best appear by the following extracts from his letters to me, which are still in my possession. The first was written soon after his arrival.

"My dear Halls,

"Having been extremely anxious to get down as speedily as possible, I was, as you know, induced to take an outside place in the mail, the inside being full for the three following nights; but, as you expected, I had reason to repent of it before I got half way on my journey, as far as respected my own convenience. * * * * I have fortunately felt no serious effect from it, though, added to the shock I received on finding my dearest mother worse than I had even feared, it rendered me very unfit for writing, or I should have addressed you or Mr. Hoppner before. The obligations which I owe him for his kindness on this occasion, will never be erased from my memory, as I found that my mother had often expressed great anxiety to see me, and

seems to derive as much pleasure from my arrival as anything can now afford her. At first sight of me she expressed no emotion, scarcely seeming conscious of my presence; she has however since that shown that my coming affords her happiness. This evening she was more herself than I have before seen her; would have a candle brought that she might examine my features, called me her dear lad, and entreated that I would not go back again; the length of my stay is therefore very uncertain. I cannot leave Lichfield for the present. The complaint under which she suffers is not a fever, as I understood, but is a disease of the liver. She has not altered for the last week, excepting that she grows, I fear, weaker; so that at present we do not entertain a glimpse of hope. My eldest sister has been written to, and we expect her to-morrow or next day—I almost dread her coming. * * *

"Your affectionate friend, H. S."

"March 1801."

In a day or two afterwards I received the following, upon the same melancholy subject.

"Lichfield, March 24th, 1801.

"DEAR HALLS,

"I am scarcely able to address you, the present melancholy state of my mother bears so heavily on my mind. She is very much worse since I wrote last, and every hour I fear will put an end to all our hopes. This, I trust, will apologise to you and Mr. Hoppner for my silence. My father suffers a great deal; I am left alone with him, my sister and brother* not being yet arrived from Bath. They have been delayed by my brother's illness—I dread to hear from them —shock follows shock so fast as almost to unman me. It is not likely that I shall be in town for some time. * * * H. SALT."

At the close of this letter he desires me to send him directly some colours, &c. as his father was anxious to have some resemblance of his wife painted while she was yet alive. I accordingly gave the necessary directions, but the different articles arrived too late to answer their original purpose, as the very next day I received the following:

* Dr. Salt and the Comtesse De Vismes.

"DEAR HALLS,

"All is at length over, my dearest mother is no more. My brother, the doctor, and my eldest sister, did not arrive until it was too late. My own sufferings are almost lost in the poignancy of theirs. How grateful do I feel to Mr. Hoppner, by whose means I enjoy the only consolation that now supports me. I would not have given up the satisfaction I feel in having seen my dearest mother for anything on earth.

"Your sincere friend, H. SALT.

"P.S.—I still should thank you to execute the commission (about the colours, &c.) I requested. * * * I feel more composed and much better than this morning. Give me a line or two.

"Lichfield, March 25th, 1801."

This was the last letter I received from him for several months. I sent him the implements for painting, &c. and I afterwards understood that he painted a portrait of his father, which he was not able to complete before he was himself taken dreadfully ill. It was reckoned a strong likeness, and was among his earliest attempts at portrait-painting. The malady with which he was attacked soon after the death of his mother, at

first baffled all the skill of his medical attendants. He appeared for many days listless, languid, and almost in a state of torpidity; but his appetite continued good, his pulse regular, and, in short, no appearance of actual disease could be detected.

After he had been in this state for some days, the celebrated Dr. Darwin happened to come to Lichfield, and was requested by old Mr. Salt to visit Henry. He did so, but could discover no alarming symptoms, except a particular expression in his eyes, which he said he did not like. He took his leave, but desired to be sent for in case of any decided alteration taking place for the worse. Matters went on for many days without anything particular occurring to throw fresh light on the case; but, at the end of some weeks, Salt was almost instantaneously attacked with such violent symptoms in the stomach and bowels, that his friends were thrown into the greatest alarm for his safety. Dr. Darwin was again sent for, and on his arrival found his patient in such a state as to feel it necessary to tell Mr. Salt to be prepared for the worst, for that even if his son should, by almost a miracle, recover, he would in all probability be an idiot for life.

The disease turned out to be a most malignant fever of the typhus kind, and, though contrary to the Doctor's prediction, his life was spared, after a most severe struggle, the event nearly justified his second conjecture, as many weeks after the virulence of the complaint had been subdued, Salt remained in the most lamentable state of mental imbecility, recovering only by very slow degrees the use of his faculties.

While he lay in this deplorable state, the most extravagant and singular whims would seize hold of his imagination; some of which he afterwards related to me, for, though in a highly deranged state at the time, he subsequently remembered almost every thing that had passed after the first shock of the fever had subsided.

On one occasion he called his father to his bedside, and told him he had been left an immense fortune, which was placed at one of the Lichfield banks, and nothing would satisfy him till his father brought him pen, ink, and paper, that he might write him a check for ten thousand pounds, which he begged him to accept. He was at this time so enfeebled by his illness as to be unable to support himself in his bed; his father, however, thought

it best to comply with his humour, and Henry managed to scrawl something in the shape of a check, which he wished immediately to have cashed. With this request his father, thinking he would soon forget the matter, appeared to comply; but, to his great dismay, the next day the subject was renewed by inquiries if the money had been paid. He was told the bankers were out of town. This however made matters worse, for Henry very indignantly declared that if the bankers were so careless in transacting business as to be all out at once, he did not think his money safe in their hands, and therefore insisted on closing the account immediately. He afterwards wanted to give various donations to his relatives and friends, and in this way did he pester his father for many successive days, till some new fancy took him.

While he was suffering under this severe malady I was nearly ignorant of his situation; some vague reports, indeed, had reached me of his being unwell, just sufficient to make me uneasy at his protracted silence, when I at last received a letter from his brother, Dr. Salt, in which he informed me that "Poor Henry was certainly better; the day before he had trusted out of all danger, but at the time he wrote

not so well, though he still hoped for the best." This was written April 21st, 1801. On the 26th I received a more alarming account from Charles Salt, with whom I had become previously intimate while he was following his professional studies in London.

"Lichfield, April 26th, 1801.

"MY DEAR HALLS,

"I am sorry to tell you that poor Henry is exceedingly ill. You knew before that he had been unwell; but he is now materially worse, and in a most precarious situation. I am sure you will wish to hear how he goes on, and I will therefore inform you when any change takes place. He has been ill above a fortnight, and his complaint is such, that a decided opinion may be formed with regard to it in about that time;* we are therefore in most anxious expectation of that alteration which may be expected. * * * C. SALT."

To this letter I returned an answer, but owing to a mistake did not get the reply till many weeks after. In the mean while I felt great uneasiness, and wrote to Henry himself,

* This, I imagine, was about the period when Dr. Darwin saw Henry the second time, though probably somewhat later.—E.

not knowing precisely his situation; and on the 19th of May I at length got the long-looked-for answer from him, written in a nearly illegible hand, and containing only a few lines. The direction being written in his father's hand, caused me no small alarm before I opened the letter.

"DEAR HALLS,

"This is the first time I have put pen to paper, but I was determined to write you a line or two, to show you I was in a mending way. Your letter gave me extreme pleasure; you cannot conceive the gratitude I feel to Mr. Hoppner for his kindness. I am in great anxiety about his health. Every kind remembrance to him, Mrs. Hoppner, and family. * * * You will see by my writing that I am very weak at present, so I am sure you will excuse my concluding. Adieu.

"Your affectionate friend, H. SALT."

"May 17th, 1800 [1]."

This short note is clearly enough expressed, yet it is singular that, contrary to his usual custom, the letter *is dated*, though dated wrongly, not only as to the day of the month but the year. I found out the error by the post-mark,

upon which in many of his other letters I have been obliged solely to depend for dates. Nearly three weeks after, I received his next letter, which shows the unsettled state of his feelings at this period.

"My dear Halls,

"Everything since my illness has gone on with me by fits and starts. First I was seized with an eating fit (no bad sign, you will say). This still continues. Next, a writing fit, during which paroxism, poetry, French, Latin, and English, by turns employed my pen. What, methinks I hear you say, the *Moon** turned poet!

* He had somehow or other acquired this appellation among his young companions, from a trick he had of placing a shilling on his nose when sitting in a perfectly erect posture, without its falling off. The effect was ridiculous enough, and he was thence known among us by the name of "The Shilling Moon," "The bad Shilling," &c. I remember his telling me a ludicrous circumstance connected with this nick-name, which occurred to him a good many years after, when walking one very dark night in the streets of London. As he was going leisurely along he chanced to meet a well-dressed woman with a young child in her arms, which last was crying bitterly; when, just as the woman passed Salt, in order to divert it, she exclaimed—"Look at the moon, my dear! the pretty moon!"—and "the little thing stinted and said, Ay!" to Salt's no small amusement.—E.

Will wonders never cease? Yes, and not only poet, but satirist too. *Ecce signum:* having nothing to write about, I send you on the other side, a copy of some of my original verses, on the ladies. I have lately been tormented by a fidgety fit, therefore thank your stars for so long a letter, as I have not sat so long for this week past; and yet, my dear Halls, I am far from well. I fear I shall be an invalid for the summer. Weakness still oppresses me, and I am plagued with painful boils, some as large as pigeons' eggs; my mind, too, is not quite at ease; anxiety to get to town, and the wish to pursue my profession, hang as weights upon me. However, everything must give way to health. I am going into the country for some days; God knows when I shall get to town: I wish it much, but in my present state dread the extreme heat. * * *. Your letter gave me great pleasure, therefore in pity write again soon.

" Yours, &c. H. S.

" P.S. To Hoppner and family every kind remembrance, and Tom * must not be forgotten. Pray can he write?

" Lichfield, June 10th, 1801."

* My brother, Thomas Halls, Esq.—E.

The journey into the country to which he alludes, was, if I remember rightly, to Market Bosworth, where he had formerly been to school. Here he fell in with some of his old acquaintances, and their society appears to have dissipated his melancholy thoughts, and to have contributed greatly towards the recovery of his health and spirits, for when he at length returned to London, in July 1801, he had grown exceedingly stout and strong, and in every respect seemed to have acquired increased vigour and energy. He was at this period a fine, personable-looking young man, with somewhat of a commanding appearance, and, had it not been for the wig he was obliged to wear in consequence of his head having been shaved during his illness, I could scarcely have brought myself to imagine, that only two or three months before he had been on the verge of the grave.

During his confinement at Lichfield, from some hints he had dropped, his father conjectured that he was in pecuniary embarrassments, and in consequence, as his mind became more calm, he interrogated him on the subject; when Salt disclosed his situation, and his father very kindly, and without an angry word, desired him to make himself easy on this head, and promised

to free him from all his incumbrances; so that when Henry returned to London he felt himself independent, and resumed his professional studies at Mr. Hoppner's with ardour and alacrity. His improvement under that gentleman, in spite of the many drawbacks he had experienced, had been rapid and considerable.

At the period of his quitting him, probably about the end of the year 1801, he took some very humble rooms in Panton Square, Haymarket, where he commenced his short professional career. Here he was employed by a few of his friends and acquaintance to paint their portraits, at very low prices, and I believe he was also occasionally occupied in copying a few pictures for Mr. Hoppner, which together brought him in a little money; but so trifling were these precarious resources, that he soon perceived, now that he was expected to depend entirely upon his own exertions, the hopelessness of the struggle in which he was engaged. His portraits, indeed, proved in general very strong resemblances, for he had a remarkably quick perception of character, drew a head with some ability, and had an excellent eye for colour, but he knew little at the time of what is technically termed, the management and conduct of a pic-

ture, and of many other matters, which practice and experience can alone bestow. With these things, as well as with most others which he had hitherto acquired, he ought to have been acquainted long before he came to the metropolis; then, indeed, two years under such an instructor as Mr. Hoppner might have afforded him some *chance* of success in the most uncertain of all professions — a profession which, depending greatly upon caprice and fashion, requires, in order to insure even a moderate competency, considerable talents and genius, and an unusual combination of fortunate circumstances.

In the situation in which Salt found himself placed at this period his success was next to an impossibility, for, had favourable opportunities occurred of advancing in his occupation, he did not possess the knowledge of his art which could have enabled him to turn them to advantage; it was, however, too late to remedy the evil in the dismal emergency of his affairs, and he took, as the event has proved, the wise determination of relinquishing his pursuit the very first opportunity that accident might afford. Many years have elapsed since these inauspicious times, but I cannot even now recall them to my remembrance without a mingled sensation of com-

miseration and horror at the fate which then appeared to await him.

It has been my endeavour, in the course of the preceding pages, to point out the capital errors that were committed in his education as a portrait-painter, and the disastrous situation in which they had involved him; it now remains for me to mention some other causes that arrested his progress.

It had appeared to me, from nearly my first acquaintance with him, that the natural turn of his mind was of too versatile and excursive a nature to adapt itself easily to the sedentary and persevering habits so essential to the practice of his profession. He loved the art, and certainly evinced no small degree of ability in its pursuit, but he loved it more as an amusement than as an employment; and perhaps it may with truth be said of him, that, with the exception of landscape, he possessed more of the taste and critical powers of the connoisseur, than of that absorbing predilection for art which usually animates the efforts of the painter. Perhaps, also, his ambition was of too aspiring a nature to be gratified by any degree of fame or success, which he could reasonably expect from the practice of painting in modern times; and though he did

not completely make the discovery till he had gained some experience of the real state of the profession in the metropolis, I am nevertheless inclined to believe that his suspicions on this head had very early a pernicious effect in checking his progress, or at least in destroying many of the enthusiastic notions he had cherished on the subject previously to his quitting his native city. But the consciousness of the time he had lost, and of the money that had been expended on his education, joined probably to the well-grounded apprehension of the displeasure of his father, should he lightly relinquish the pursuit in which he had engaged, all tended to make him persevere, though somewhat unwillingly, in his course, till an advantageous opportunity offered of freeing himself at once from the trammels by which he felt he was constrained.

To these drawbacks on his advancement others may be added of a more formidable nature, which, though they may, under the circumstances in which he was placed, admit of great extenuation, cannot altogether be considered blameless. He had been sent to the capital at the dangerous age of seventeen, completely his own master, except during his hours of study, and surrounded by all those seductions which

can subvert the best minds and subdue the strongest. Without the salutary control of reason or experience to guide him in his perilous course, he was continually falling a prey to indiscretions, for which his better feelings as uniformly reproached him.

Endowed by nature with strong passions and an ardent imagination, with an affectionate disposition, and in some respects with unbounded liberality, few men at his early period of life have ever been exposed to severer trials than it was his lot to sustain. His social and convivial turn of character, and his general information and pleasantry, gained him a ready admission into company; but he had sense enough to prefer the society of his equals and superiors, and was totally free from the brutalizing ambition of being what is vulgarly styled "the King of the Company." Though fond of the pleasures of the table, he was never habitually intemperate, and, when alone, lived with the greatest frugality, seldom I believe, if ever, in his early days indulging himself with a single glass of wine, so that it may be truly said of him, that not many men have escaped with greater impunity from the dangerous vortex of London dissipation.

In the mean while temptations of a far more attractive and destructive tendency assailed his early manhood, against the fascination of which even the matured reason of more experienced age sometimes finds it very difficult to guard. It is not then perhaps to be wondered at, that when left entirely to his own guidance, and beset by the perpetual seductions of the metropolis, he should have fallen into errors from which few have been exempt, even when placed under circumstances more favourable to resistance. From his devotion to the gentler sex arose some of the defects and many of the most laudable and prominent virtues of his character; for, though irregular and wild in his conduct, I can scarcely call to my remembrance any individual more capable than he was of the most tender and durable attachment, or who displayed a greater degree of generosity and disinterested kindness to the more amiable portion of human nature.

"When youthful love, warm blushing strong,
Keen shivering shot his nerves along,

* * * *

I saw his pulse's maddening play,..
Wild send him pleasure's devious way,
Misled by fancy's meteor ray,
By passion driven;
But yet the light that led astray
Was light from heaven."

But like the great though unfortunate author of these lines, Salt possessed an ambition, an energy, and a fund of naturally strong sense, which always held forth the promise of better things, when the thoughtless gaieties and indiscretions of youth should have become somewhat subdued by the sober dictates of reason. His excellent heart and amiable disposition enabled him to endure reproof and remonstrance, when given in kindness and friendship, with a patience and thankfulness which could scarcely have been expected from his warm feelings and high spirit. Such admonitions, indeed, did not always produce the immediate effect of restraining or eradicating his errors; but they sank deep into his heart, and I know, that in after life he entertained a high regard towards those who had warned him from the paths of destruction.

I remember one instance, in particular, of his good temper, respecting a point on which very few persons can bear contradiction, much less be exposed to the shafts of ridicule. Soon after his first settling in London he was introduced at the house of a highly respectable gentleman, with one of whose daughters he became deeply enamoured. He was then a mere youth, and

without fortune, with his profession to acquire, and his way to make in the world. The lady was scarcely sixteen, one of a very large family, and, perhaps, with immediate prospects pretty much upon a par with his own. His youthful friends, who looked upon the whole affair as a mere boy and girl attachment, endeavoured by all reasonable methods to detach him from a connexion, which, though perfectly unexceptionable in itself, seemed likely, in the respective situation of the parties, to lead to the inevitable misery of both. She was, I have heard, an amiable and a very pretty girl, and, from all I have subsequently learned, a good deal attached to him. None of his friends, however, at the time entertained the most distant notion of the serious nature of the connexion, and in consequence used to deal out their advice and ridicule in no very measured terms; yet he always bore these attacks with great patience and equanimity, feeling probably, though the means employed were not of the most gracious nor of the gentlest description, that the end proposed was designed for his ultimate good.

Unfortunately, as the event turned out, his friends might have spared their admonitions; the beloved and interesting object of his affec-

tions dying, I believe, of a decline, early in the year 1800. This was his first real attachment, and he felt her loss so severely as to shut himself up in his room for some days, refusing all nourishment and consolation. In this melancholy state it was with the utmost difficulty that his friends could arouse him to exertion; and when at length he partially recovered from the shock his feelings had sustained, his first care was to paint a portrait of the lady from memory. It must have been an extraordinary likeness, though coarsely executed, as after the lapse of nearly one and thirty years I accidentally, and for the first time, fell into the company of one of her brothers, who bears a strong resemblance to her, and instantly recognised him from his striking similarity to his sister's picture, the original of which I had never seen.

Though time and the sanguineness of youth enabled Salt in some measure to overcome this heavy affliction, yet he never ceased to speak of the object of his early affection without expressions of deep regret and sorrow. It is, perhaps, rather an affecting circumstance, that only a few months back, in looking over some papers and letters which he had consigned to my care, I met with a sealed paper, and on opening it

found it contained a lock of her hair, with a request, in his own hand-writing, that I would burn the contents in case of his death. So strong and durable were the feelings and affections of this warm-hearted and amiable man when his confidence and regard had once been secured.*

His constancy in his friendships I have never seen surpassed in any instance; neither time nor distance wrought the slightest change in these

* Since writing the above, I accidentally was looking into one of his common-place books, in which is written in pencil an account of two dreams that occurred to him several years after the death of this amiable girl and his mother, and which show the melancholy impression these events had left upon his mind after the lapse of so long a period. The first account is dated November 7th, 1803, soon after his recovery from a dangerous bilious fever, which confined him at Lucknow for nearly six weeks. For whom the narrations were intended does not appear, but probably either for Mr. Bingham Richards or myself. The first is as follows:—

"I thought my mind was excessively agitated with a number of confused reflections respecting my future welfare, which wrought up my mind to a degree of agony bordering on insanity, when my mother seemed to stand before me, and told me not to concern myself about the future, as I was fast declining, though imperceptibly to all my friends, with a slow fever that would soon lead me to the grave. I awoke with a strong impression that I shall never more reach England."

The second is longer and more remarkable.

respects in his sentiments. He returned, after years of absence, with the same preferences and prepossessions which had swayed him at his departure, and in no instance did he ever forget an intimate acquaintance or friend whom he had once esteemed and valued. Such, indeed, was the frank and forgiving quality of his nature, that it was scarcely possible to be really offended with him, and though I have occasionally remonstrated with him upon his thoughtlessness

"I have had another dream relating to an event that happened to me nearly four years ago, the particulars of which must always be fresh in my remembrance. You will recollect that about that period I was engaged, without the consent of my parents, to an amiable girl, and you, who know the effect her loss had upon my mind, which has scarcely yet recovered from the shock, will not wonder how frequently my thoughts, whether sleeping or waking, wandered towards the beloved object. I now fancied myself coming out of a country church-yard after divine service with Kate and her sister. The church was situated on a rising ground, which on one side commanded an extensive view of rich scenery; but on the other, immediately after passing through a small wicket that led out of the church-yard, the view was bounded by large trees, which overhung a lane that lay in a direct angle with the church-yard path. I imagined that on coming out of the church I left the party, and turned round the angle of the church to the left, to gaze on the scenery of the plain below. I ran back instantly to join my friends, but, to my astonishment, could discover neither them nor any of the numerous congregation which had only a few moments be-

and failings, I never had any serious difference with him during the long intimacy that subsisted between us.

One of his errors, and from which he suffered considerable inconvenience in his younger days, perhaps through life, was a pernicious habit he had of putting off till the morrow that which ought to be done to-day; and on one occasion I remember writing to him in strong terms upon the unpleasant circumstances to which he exposed himself and his friends by his procrastinating spirit. It was upon some matter of im-

fore began to disperse. I rushed forward to the lane, still no one met my sight, but all seemed silent and lonely as the grave. At this instant an old schoolfellow, poor H——, who had been dead some time, drove up in a curricle from the right hand. For God's sake, I exclaimed, give me a place, that I may overtake some ladies who have gone on before. I sprang into the carriage, the horses were on the gallop, and seemed to move with supernatural velocity; yet they went not half swift enough for my impetuous wishes—I seized the reins, urged them forward with the whip, and we seemed almost to fly over the ground. The road, which had hitherto been smooth, appeared now divided in two by some stunted trees and bushes that grew in the middle of the lane. The one to the left was even and dry, and partly covered with grass: that to the right seemed scarcely passable, the ruts were cut deep in the clay, and were partially under water, yet this track we drove along. The wheels, however, of the carriage soon became clogged, and it was

portance, which, as usual, he had either delayed or altogether forgotten, and the annexed extract of a letter I received from him, in reply, will serve as a specimen of the kind manner in which he always bore even pointed rebuke.

"London, July 25th, 1800.

"DEAR HALLS,

"I had neglected writing to you so long that I really felt ashamed to take the pen in hand, having no apology to offer sufficient to excuse my inattention. Your letter, which I received yesterday, bearing such kind marks of your

with difficulty that the vehicle advanced. My anxiety was now wound up to such a degree of intenseness that I felt inclined to jump out and run forward, but some cecret power seemed to restrain me. My agony then grew almost insupportable, I lost all thoughts of my companion, and in vain urged the horses to their speed. The road now made a sharp turn to the right, we were upon high ground, and oh! what were my sensations, when I beheld the beloved object of my search at a short distance before me. In front, and immediately between us, lay a beautiful meadow, and on each side of it a high hedge and ditch, that prevented the possibility, as I imagined, of my ever getting across. I jumped out of the carriage, and stood gazing in speechless amazement at the delightful vision. She was alone, walking slowly, as if lingering for me, on a smooth gravel road with an umbrella in her hand. As I still gazed the scene faded from my view, and I felt with indescribable anguish that she was for ever lost to me, when I awoke.—H. S."

friendship and attention, made me feel more sensibly ashamed of delaying so long my promise made to you at parting; I trust, however, you will think no more of it, as I assure you the true cause of it is a bad habit, which I have not yet gotten rid of, of procrastinating these things from day to day, and not from any abatement of attachment. * * * Mr. Hoppner is nearly recovered from his accident. * * * He has some intention of spending a month or six weeks in making the tour of North Wales; if so, I shall be left in town, without a single friend, to live in my own *beams* and be happy. * * *

"H. Salt."

In a few weeks after I received the following letter from him on the same topic:

"August 13th, 1800.

"Dear Halls,

"I did not receive your letter until late on Monday night, on my return from Fulham, and could not therefore answer it before to-day, having some previous enquiries to make. The arguments you use in support of the advice you have given me, have sensibly impressed upon my mind the necessity of correcting a failing so fatal in its effects as procrastination. This can-

not however be the work of a day. It is a habit which began with me at a very early period. Most of the difficulties I have met with have taken their source from it, and though I have often reasoned with myself on my folly in giving way to it, yet hitherto, I fear, it has increased with my years. *It is time to rouse myself from this infantile slumber, so disgraceful to my age, and exert the energy of my mind, the strength of which has not yet been tried.* It will be kind in you to lend me an assisting hand. Hints on this subject cannot be thrown away, and be assured I shall consider them proofs of a friendship which becomes dearer to me daily, as I grow more sensible of its value. H. SALT."

It was hardly possible to know what course to take with one who, thus sensibly alive to his own failings, could nevertheless bear to have them dwelt upon with so much patience and thankfulness. Perhaps I felt his candid and ingenuous acknowledgment the more, as I was conscious, that, in my own instance, I was not entirely free from the habit of suffering disagreeable matters to accumulate, though fully convinced that by the delay I was in fact only increasing my

trouble and disquietude. This error is one of the most general which I have observed among men, in my commerce with the world, and which, from its seductive and apparently innocent practice, is possibly most difficult of remedy. It comes upon an individual in so insidious, I had almost said in so amiable a shape, that resistance to its blandishments seems scarcely necessary, fatal as it sometimes proves in its results. Poor Salt, however, carried the practice in early life to a greater excess than I have ever observed it in any other instance; yet, when roused to action, and with his game in view, the eagle itself pounces not on its prey with more velocity and certainty than he displayed whenever occasion called for exertion.

This combination of energy and promptitude, which at times animated his character, carried him through many difficulties in spite of the general indolence of his disposition. Like the wild Indian, he slumbered away existence till the calls of necessity, or ambition, awoke him from his trance, and compelled him to bring into action those powers of body and of mind with which he was so highly gifted. His mental and bodily qualities, indeed, seemed to have borne a remarkable affinity, and to have possessed an

unusual reciprocity in regulating all his movements. The fatal disease which attacked him in childhood, and which in a greater or less degree accompanied him to the grave, was probably the cause of the occasional inertness that preyed upon his constitution, and produced a corresponding effect upon his intellectual faculties, which, in their turn, again influenced his bodily functions; for in no other way can I account for the extraordinary contradictions he sometimes evinced both as to his corporeal and his mental efforts.

From the sentence given in italics, in the preceding letter, as well as from conversations that had passed between us about the period it was written, I have little doubt that he then entertained some vague notion that the situation in which he found himself placed very ill accorded with the general turn of his mind, and that he only waited a favourable opportunity of disengaging himself from the fetters which had hitherto enchained the free exercise of his spirit. That opportunity was now nearer at hand than he had anticipated, and as it forms one of the most remarkable incidents in his life I shall fully relate it.

CHAPTER III.

Salt's first acquaintance with Lord Valentia. — Proposes to accompany that nobleman to India. — Embarkation of his Lordship and Mr. Salt. — Letter from Salt descriptive of his voyage. — Arrival at Calcutta. — Tours in India. — Embark for Ceylon. — Farther Tours in the East. — Sail for the Red Sea. — Anchor off the Amphili Islands. — Arrival at Massowah. — Desertion of some of the crew of the Antelope. — Salt sails for Bombay. — Starts with Lord Valentia for Poonah and other places in the interior of India.

In the year 1799 Lord Valentia first became acquainted with Henry Salt in the following singular manner, the account of which I shall give as nearly as possible in the words of his lordship's diary.

In the month of June in the above year, Lord Valentia was in London. The Rev. Thomas Simon Butt, who has been before mentioned, was also there upon his own concerns, and, as he and his lordship were on intimate terms, they were a good deal together, and in company went to many exhibitions, with which the metropolis at that

season of the year abounds. Among others, on the 4th of June, they visited Fuseli's gallery in Pall Mall. It so happened, that when they first entered there was only one other person in the room, a young man, who immediately came up and spoke to Mr. Butt in a very cordial manner, but was received with so much coolness that he directly retired. Lord Valentia thought this singular, and asked Mr. Butt who the young man was? He replied he did not know, but had supposed he was an acquaintance of his lordship's. Lord Valentia assured him that he was not, and that from his manner he conceived it was some one who knew him, Mr. Butt, well. On hearing this, Mr. Butt immediately quitted Lord Valentia and joined the stranger, with whom he soon appeared on the most familiar terms, and directly introduced him to his lordship, exclaiming—"Why it is my nephew, Henry Salt!" The fact was, Mr. Butt had not seen Salt for many years, and the latter was so grown and altered that his uncle had not the most distant recollection of him when he first spoke to him; and Henry, shocked at the coldness of his reception, had turned away in anger and disgust from a relative who he fancied was ashamed to acknowledge him in the company of an indivi-

dual who evidently bore the appearance of a man of rank and fashion.

Independently of Lord Valentia's long attachment to the Butt family, he had formed, as has been before observed, a most intimate friendship with Dr. Salt when they were fellow pupils at Dr. Butt's, and that friendship had continued unabated. His lordship therefore felt anxious to show every attention in his power to Henry Salt. He introduced him to his family and friends, and from that period, whenever his lordship was in London, he saw a good deal of him during the two or three following years.

About the end of the year 1801, or the beginning of 1802, Lord Valentia formed the design of visiting India, and communicated his intention to Salt; when the latter, seeing the opportunity favourable, lost no time in soliciting his lordship to allow him to embark with him in the double capacity of secretary and draftsman. Lord Valentia, not having had the most distant notion of asking him to accompany him, felt a good deal surprised at the proposal, as he had considered Salt as just settled in his profession, and had no idea of making an offer which appeared likely to interfere with his progress as an artist; but, Salt mentioning the melancholy state

of his prospects, and his wish to quit the pursuit in which he was then engaged, his lordship at length acquiesced in his views, and agreed to his going out with him if he could obtain his father's consent to the proposition. This permission, on the matter being fully represented and explained, was readily granted, and Henry without delay proceeded to make the necessary preparations for his journey.

All his other relatives and friends were well pleased with his appointment, and with the fair prospect it appeared to hold out of future advantage. Dr. Salt, in particular, seems, by the following letter to Lord Valentia, to have been strongly impressed with the difficulties his brother was destined to encounter had he remained in his profession, and equally delighted with the opportunity afforded him of escaping from so distressing a situation.

" Sidmouth, May 24th, 1802.

" These few lines may be all that I can send you before your departure, my ever dear friend. God bless and preserve you, and reward you for your heart-warm goodness to my beloved brother, who is the companion and friend of your voyage. You will have raised him at once from a sea of difficulties, and given him a fair and

noble chance in life. Whatever he has hereafter he will owe to you. I know his heart; he will, I trust, be grateful, affectionate, and show exertion and energy when thus supported and introduced to a new scene, where no oppressive circumstances will weigh him down, no painful association of ideas clog his course. You are more than a brother to him; you have been more to me: you have ever been, in the most perfect sense of the word, my *friend*, and that word conveys the strongest term the human lips can utter.

"We may meet no more on earth, my dear Valentia, for I am in a very suffering state, and must at bottom have some dangerous disease; but I trust we shall hereafter, in a region where all hearts are open, and all tears dried from the eye for ever. I doubt not that it has been hurry, &c. that has prevented your writing to me. I have long been, and am now, painfully anxious to hear from you. I intreat you to write to me as fully as you can, that the impression left on my mind when I parted from my friend may be such as to soothe my passage to that grave where I may repose ere his return. But, oh! to part at once with my brother and my friend! I fully exonerate you from the

promise of seeing me before you go. I know you cannot without delay and hurry that would distress you; and as, by reflection, I have composed my mind as much as possible on the subject, I hope it will remain calm. But do write to me that which will be a balm to hours of suffering, and let no foreign opportunity occur without adding a letter to your friend—a sunbeam from a land where, I pray God, you may be prosperous and happy as you merit. Again, may that God be your guardian and preserver, and guide and restore you to us again all we could wish!

"Ever yours, J. B. SALT.

"To the Viscount Valentia."

Henry Salt was now in his element: full of life, activity, and hope, he was no longer the depressed and dejected being he had previously appeared for many months. The world seemed opened before him, and his sanguine spirit had already, in imagination, subdued every anticipated difficulty that might be opposed to his progress. Never, perhaps, had any event been better timed. He was now about two-and-twenty years of age, with all his bodily and mental faculties in full vigour; he had greatly

improved himself in some essential branches of education, and, for the situation in which he was placed, possessed a knowledge of his art, both with respect to landscape and figures, not usually found among those who travel in the capacity to which he had been recently nominated. Had the opportunity occurred some time earlier, he would probably have proved inadequate to the undertaking; or had it been delayed till a few years later, his chance of advancement would have been greatly diminished, and he might have sunk in the mean time into oblivion, while contending with insurmountable obstacles. As the case stood, however, it turned out one of those fortunate events which rarely occur in life, and, to do Salt justice, he followed up the advantage afforded him with great vigour and perseverance.

It was about this time that I was introduced by him to Lord Valentia, which led to the friendship that has since subsisted between his lordship and me, during a period of nearly thirty-two years.

Though Salt was in high spirits at his appointment, and looked forward with the buoyancy of youthful ardour to the bright prospect opened to his view, he nevertheless severely felt

the departure from his native land; and the thought of the long, perhaps final separation, he was about to experience from many beloved relatives and friends, greatly distressed him as the hour approached for bidding farewell.

He supported the trial, however, with firmness, for, though possessed of very strong feelings and affections, he was in no respect deficient in manliness and natural strength of character. Our parting was indeed a bitter one, and for months afterwards I felt like one who had suddenly been bereft of some important member of his body.

On such occasions, I believe, the individual left behind is commonly the severer sufferer, since every familiar object, and even amusement, recalls to his recollection the pains and the pleasures which have passed in the society of the departed friend. It is otherwise with the absentee. The novelty of the situation in which he is placed, and the stream of events and objects presented to his imagination, tend to banish, at least for a time, the remembrance of more domestic, but less poignant enjoyments. To this day, I cannot pass through many of the streets of London where Salt formerly resided without their calling to my mind the scenes of

our youthful days, and bitterly deploring his untimely loss.

Before I conclude this portion of the life of my departed friend, it may be as well to mention that the materials I have obtained relating to his youth and early manhood, are of a very slender description. Almost the whole of his letters have been destroyed or lost, and there are few persons living from whom I have been able to gain any very satisfactory information respecting him, before he and I became personally acquainted. Meagre as it is, however, its authenticity may be fully relied on, coming, as it does, from intimate companions and near relatives. As to the latter years of this epoch in his life, I have fortunately preserved many of his letters to me, which I found of great use in ascertaining dates, and in assisting my memory with regard to circumstances, which came immediately under my own observation and knowledge.

During Mr. Salt's absence from England, for nearly four years and a half, I have no account of his proceedings, except what I have gathered from Lord Valentia's Travels, and from his own Journal, published in that comprehensive work. He wrote, I believe, only a few letters home to

any of his friends or relatives in the course of this period; and those he did write have probably shared the fate of his earlier ones, as I have not been able to obtain any from the various quarters in which I have applied. During the whole time he was away I received, I think, only three letters from him, and two of those (of no importance, however) I have mislaid. From the other I shall give extracts, as it describes in a lively manner his sensations when encountering the *delights* of a first sea-voyage.

It was on the 3rd of June, 1802, that Lord Valentia and Salt took their departure from London to embark in the extra East Indiaman the Minerva, Captain Weltden, which was expected in the Downs on the 4th. On the 5th they went on board, but, owing to delays from calms and adverse winds, the ship did not quit the Lizard till June 20th. June the 29th they came in sight of the Isle of Madeira; stopped there a day or two, and thence departed for St. Helena, where they arrived August 20th, after an unusually quick passage. In about a fortnight the voyage was resumed to the Cape of Good Hope, which became visible on the morning of October the 20th. Being detained at this place nearly three weeks, his lordship,

accompanied by Mr. Salt, visited the interior, during which excursion the latter, as he had also done at Madeira and St. Helena, made several drawings of the different scenery, engravings from some of which are given in his lordship's "Travels" and in Salt's "Views," and are remarkable for their truth and character. A short time before Salt's arrival at the Cape an opportunity offered of sending me the letter I have alluded to above.

"Minerva, off the Cape of Good Hope.

"DEAR HALLS,

"It is absolutely necessary that I should give you a long letter from this place, or you will certainly accuse me of neglect, which I could bear from any one else better than from yourself. You will probably by this time have received two letters from the island of St. Helena, the only two I have sent you since I left England, which, considering all things, is a most base inattention on my side. We are now about two hundred miles from the Cape; the weather is remarkably fine, though we are sailing through the water at the rate of seven or eight knots in the hour. We had, indeed, one or two severe squalls this morning, but it is nothing when one is used to it. We have another ship (the Lord

Eldon) in company with us, which seems to be pitching most tremendously; fortunately, though ours is a remarkably fast-sailing vessel, she has very little motion, and as I have at last got rid of the sea-sickness, with which I suffered very much until some time after my leaving St. Helena, I can no longer have an excuse for not giving you a regular account (as per promise) of what I am doing, as well as of what has passde in the last four months. Passing over our stay at Deal, where we managed to spend the time tolerably agreeably, I will suppose we have taken our departure from the Lizard Point, and relate to you whatever I may have omitted in my former letters. The manner in which we live on board a ship is, upon the whole, not so bad as one might reasonably expect, yet, God knows, it is bad enough.

"Imprimis:—It is very much like being hung up in a cage, and swung from one side of the room to the other; but what is this but necessary exercise? and though, as I often think, the motion very much resembles that which a crow must experience when perched on the end of an ash bough, which shakes to and fro with the wind, yet this only assists our animal frame in its necessary operations, and serves to digest the

quantity of excellent provisions which we daily consume. We are, indeed, stowed away at night in our cots like so many malefactors dangling in chains, where we are continually awakened by the creaking of ropes, the harsh grating of the rudder, the piping of the boatswain, and a few other equally amusing sounds; but this will only teach us, on our return, how to relish a peaceful home, though in small lodgings, and moreover affords ample time for reflection.

"The Minerva, being an extra ship, is not of course so large as the regular East Indiamen; but on this account we have no reason to complain. Lord Valentia has one half of the round-house, which is about as large as your small closet, and I have a cabin below, about six feet by five. The cuddy, in which we assemble together at dinner, &c. is an excellent room, where we get very handsome 'feeds.' Fresh mutton and pork are standing dishes, dressed in a variety of ways, which, with salt-fish, beef, pork, hams, tripe, &c. followed generally by a good pudding, or pie, make out our table; not forgetting most excellent curries, which we wash down with various good wines. * * *

"The society on board our vessel is as supe-

rior to what it generally is on shipboard as it is inferior to our little party in Bond Street (where we sometimes used to pass our evenings in the most agreeable intercourse imaginable), for our captain is not more than eight-and-twenty, and is one who harbours in his breast nothing but goodwill towards us all. He has been accustomed to very good company, and has little of the sailor's character about him, except it be an openness of heart and a little desire of 'cutting a dash,' peculiar to these sons of the ocean.

"One of our mates is a truly original character; you would take him for an Irishman by the number of good blunders he makes in conversation, and his voice, when he makes a sharp reply, is one note higher than any other person's in company; add to this a dry humour in telling a story, and a quaintness of style that is at times infinitely amusing, particularly when a little elevated by wine. He is a short man, rough in his manners, and unpolished in person, though on Sundays, I assure you, very fine. Formerly he was master of a slave-ship, which has given him a slight tinge of the barbarian; yet at bottom he is, I believe, humane, and a man of strict integrity; you would, however,

immediately suspect, if he went past your window in Bond Street, that he came from below London Bridge. * * *

"Mr. E——, our surgeon, who knew some of your family at Colchester, answers very much to the idea I formed of him when I first saw him at Gravesend. I was then much prepossessed in his favour, and I still think him a complete gentleman; but, what is better, he has a well-inclined heart, which ten years' service has not corrupted, and a spirit of honour, which shines resplendent amidst the foibles which he shares in common with us all.

"Lord Valentia, as you may imagine, gives the whole spirit to the party. His abilities I always thought very considerable, but did not give him credit for such uncommon attention in gaining information, as I now find him possessed of. As to his continued kindness to me, I am sure had I been his brother he could not have been more assiduously anxious for his welfare than he appears to be about everything that can tend to my advantage. There has not been even unpleasant words between us more than once; but though I must regret the occasion, from knowing that I was

myself in the wrong, yet, as it gave me reason to be more than ever satisfied with his good intentions towards me, I cannot but feel pleased with the cause.

"During our stay at St. Helena I experienced considerable pleasure, partly from the novelty of the scene, and partly from the particular attention I received from the inhabitants, who may be aptly called 'Imitators of Mankind,' as they appear to me to have no national character belonging to them. They are at an early age inspired with the necessity of 'taking care of the main chance.' No arts or sciences are cultivated, and of course their information is almost confined to the casting up of pounds, shillings, and pence. From this account, however, must be entirely excluded the Governor's family, which consists of himself, his wife, and four daughters, with whom we almost lived while on the island.

"Land is just descried from the mast-head, therefore I must bid you farewell, as well as your brother Tom, for brothers I hope we all are in affection. Farewell, dear Halls, and believe me most sincerely

"Your affectionate friend,

"H. Salt."

The above letter came to me in an inclosure from Lord Valentia, from which last I copy some extracts, as they show that his lordship was well satisfied with Salt's progress even in this early stage of his proceedings.

"Off the Cape, October 19th, 1802.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I can hardly bear to send you a blank sheet of paper, and therefore, as Henry brought me his letter to inclose, I shall fill the envelope, though I presume that he has acquainted you with everything that is interesting. I have the pleasure to inform you that he gets on better than I expected, and I have no doubt that when he becomes acquainted again with water-colours his drawings will be superior to my hopes. * * * I have little doubt that he will make money in India, which, I think, he would never have done in London.

"Truly yours,

"VALENTIA."

"J. J. Halls, Esq."

On the 30th of October Lord Valentia and his party returned to Cape Town, after a very agreeable tour of three hundred miles. They

found the ship was not quite ready to sail on their arrival, owing to its having to take on board General Vandeleur and a division of the 8th Light Dragoons. On the 5th of November, however, every arrangement being completed, the Minerva departed from the Cape direct for Calcutta, where, after touching at the Nicobar Islands in their way, and narrowly escaping shipwreck, Lord Valentia and Salt arrived in safety on the 26th of January 1803.

They were received with great attention and civility by the Marquess Wellesley and by many of the principal authorities, and it was not long before Mr. Salt had an opportunity afforded him of exercising his professional talents. He had been invited by the Governor-General to accompany Lord Valentia to his country residence at Barrackpore; and when they were about to return, his Excellency requested that Salt might be left behind to take some views of the place, an employment in which he acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of the marquess, as to elicit the warmest applause from him and others, for the fidelity and rapidity with which he sketched many of the neighbouring scenes. He returned to Calcutta highly gratified with his reception, and with the very flattering marks of

approbation that had been bestowed upon his talents.

On the 21st of February he attended Lord Valentia on a tour to Benares and Lucknow. Their route lay through many towns and considerable places, in the course of which he met with frequent opportunities for employing his pencil, and gave great satisfaction by his efforts to his fellow-travellers; indeed, I have frequently heard his lordship express his surprise at the very rapid improvement Salt had made in his art shortly after his arrival in India. On the 7th of March they reached Benares, and on the 21st entered Lucknow, exactly one month after their departure from Calcutta.

After a residence of four months at this place, which appears to have been very agreeably spent, from the great civility and attention they experienced from the Nawaub Vizier of Oude, and other native princes, the party set off on its return to Calcutta, and reached Cawnpore on the 4th of September, having visited many different places in the course of the journey.

At Cawnpore Lord Valentia discharged all his servants and followers, who were hired at Lucknow, and with Mr. Salt, &c. proceeded, in boats, hired for the occasion, down the Ganges

for the Bengal capital. In their way thither they stopped at Barrackpore to dine with the Marquess Wellesley, with whom Lord Valentia was anxious to communicate previously to his departure for Ceylon.

Salt, during the late tour, had considerably augmented the number of his sketches, and it was about this time that he first entertained the idea of publishing, on his own account, by subscription, his twenty-four large views, dedicated by permission to the Marquess Wellesley; and under the immediate patronage of that nobleman. This book was subsequently published by Miller, after Salt's return to England. It brought him in a considerable sum of money, and perhaps, for a work of this description, has never been surpassed by any production in the accuracy of its representations.

On the 6th of December 1803, Lord Valentia, Mr. Salt, &c. left Calcutta, and went on board the Charles, transport, to be conveyed down the river Hoogly. On the 7th they reached Kedgeree, and immediately embarked in the Olive, Captain Matthews, bound for Columbo, in the island of Ceylon. December 15th land became visible, and on the 18th they reached Point de Galle. Here they remained a day or two, and

proceeded to Columbo, where they arrived on the 22nd, and were most kindly and hospitably received by Governor North, afterwards Earl of Guilford. The uniform attention and friendship which Mr. Salt experienced from this amiable, learned, and excellent man, from the beginning of their acquaintance till the death of the latter, many years afterwards in England, was highly valued by Salt, and he always mentioned it as one of the most gratifying circumstances of his life.

At Columbo the travellers remained about three weeks, when they took leave of the Governor, and continued their route to Ramiseram. During their stay at Ceylon, the account of which forms one of the most interesting and best portions of his travels, Lord Valentia suffered greatly from indisposition; but Salt made several drawings of the various scenery which the country afforded, some of which were published in the "Travels" and in his "Views," and are among the most characteristic of the collection.

The detention of Lord Valentia at Ceylon having proved longer than he had anticipated, necessarily shortened the period he had intended to devote to the continent of India in his way to Mangalore, where he was informed by a letter

from Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, that one of the Company's cruisers, by the order of Lord Wellesley, would be in readiness early in February 1804, to convey his lordship to the Red Sea. On the 25th of January 1804, the party arrived at Ramiseram, where Salt made some drawings, particularly one of the celebrated pagoda at that place. Thence they proceeded by Panban, Ramnad, &c. to Tanjore, where they arrived on the 30th.

On the 2nd of February the party resumed their journey to Pondicherry, which they reached on the evening of the 3rd, having been obliged to pass over in a very cursory manner several matters on the route worthy of note, and which they were unable to examine, from the fear of being too late in the Red Sea for the southerly monsoon.

In the course of their stay at this place Mr. Salt made an excursion among the hills in the neighbourhood, visited the seven pagodas, of which he made several drawings, and then rejoined Lord Valentia at Madras on the 10th of February. Here Mr. Coffin, his lordship's English servant, was taken with a violent fever, which prevented the party for some time from proceeding. In the mean while Mr. Salt set out

to visit the celebrated falls of the Cauveri, and after an absence of somewhat more than a fortnight, he rejoined his fellow-traveller at Seringapatam, on the 2nd of March, whither his lordship had proceeded after the recovery of his servant.

While engaged in this expedition Salt kept a regular journal, which appears in the "Travels," and employed his pencil upon the various scenery of the country through which he passed. At eight in the evening his lordship and Salt took leave of their friends in Seringapatam, and proceeded on the route to Mangalore, which they reached about the 8th, after having descended the Bessely Gaut, one of the most remarkable in India. The scenery they passed through on this occasion is described as being of the most magnificent nature.

At Mangalore they found the Company's cruiser, the Antelope (Captain Keys) waiting their arrival, to convey them, by Lord Wellesley's command, to the Red Sea, with the view of exploring its western coast, and of endeavouring to ascertain if some commercial advantage might not accrue from opening a communication with Abyssinia; and in order to obviate any difficulty that might arise in the execution of these pro-

jects as to the eligibility of visiting particular places, the commanding officer of the ship was placed by his Excellency under the control of Lord Valentia.

On the 12th the whole party embarked on board the Antelope, and immediately set sail for the Red Sea, and on the 12th of April made the coast of Africa, off Cape Guardafui. Thence they sailed through the Straits of Babel Mandel to Mocha, where they arrived on the 18th, in company with the Fox frigate (Captain Vashon), which had been dispatched to these quarters by Admiral Rainier, to convoy the trade from Mocha to India.

At Mocha it was found advisable to lay in a stock of water and provisions, which delayed the Antelope till the 9th of May, when the whole party proceeded on the voyage up the Red Sea. Before they set out, Captain Keys had expressed his disapprobation of any attempt being made to explore the western coast of the Red Sea, and in other respects seemed disposed to thwart his lordship's views. It had been Lord Valentia's intention to have gone by Jibbel Tier and Dhalac to Massowah, as Captain Vashon had offered to accompany the Antelope as far as the two former places; but just as everything had been

got in readiness, and they were about to set sail, the pilot declared he knew nothing of the route, and Captain Keys would not venture his vessel in an unknown and intricate sea. The plan was in consequence relinquished, and Captain Vashon pursued his course alone.

The Antelope stretched across the Red Sea, rather to the south-west, and worked up its way on the Abyssinian side of the shore. After touching at different places in their progress, and making various soundings and observations, they anchored off the Amphila Islands on the 15th of May, and thence proceeded to Dhalac.

Here Lord Valentia wished to take a minute survey of the island and neighbouring parts in the boats of the ship, but the captain disapproved of the attempt. It was, however, at length agreed that Mr. Salt should go in the pilot's boat the next morning (May the 21st) to another part of the Island of Dhalac-el-Kibeer, to gain all possible information respecting it. On his return he made a report of his tour on the island, greatly to his lordship's satisfaction. The Antelope then sailed for Massowah, where it arrived on the 23rd, and the next day Lord Valentia and Salt paid a visit to the Nayib, who received them with much civility. At this place

fresh difficulties appear to have been started by the captain, which rendered it impossible to prosecute the objects of the voyage. Accordingly Lord Valentia, after some strong remonstrances, was obliged to give up the business as hopeless, and to order Captain Keys to return to Mocha, where the ship arrived on the 24th of June. On the way thither the latter wished his lieutenant, Mr. Maxfield, to survey a small island in their route, which had been before discovered by the Antelope, and Lord Valentia in consequence consented to a delay of two days; but Mr. Maxfield being suddenly taken ill, Mr. Salt went and ascertained some bearings, and made several drawings of the island, which on a former visit had been named Valentia island, in compliment to his lordship.

During the stay of the Antelope at Mocha, several of her crew, induced by the temptations held out by the Dola and others, ran away from the ship, and turned renegadoes. One of these men having written to Lord Valentia, to request a bible, his lordship sent him one, with a letter also, warning him of the criminality of his conduct. A long answer was returned, in which, in the true style of a sailor, the writer observed, "he could now be as good a christian as before,

and should have more time to pay his respects to God Almighty." He afterwards chanced to meet his lordship, when he looked wretchedly, and said he believed Lord Valentia was right in saying he would soon repent of what he had done; his fears, however, of the punishment that might await him on his arrival in India, if a seapoy whom he had struck while on duty, should have died of the blow, prevented for the time his returning to the ship. This man was no other than Pearce, who was afterwards left in Abyssinia, and whose singular life and journal has been recently published.

As soon as the Antelope arrived at Mocha, Lord Valentia and Mr. Salt quitted the ship, and took up their residence at the factory till the return of Captain Vashon from his cruise. To their no small delight, he arrived on the 6th of July in the Fox, and, as his lordship had given up the command of the Antelope, that ship became immediately under the orders of Captain Vashon. To this officer his lordship represented what had happened, and requested him to give him a passage in the Fox to Bombay when it sailed for India. This request was willingly complied with, and Captain Keys received orders to give Mr. Salt a passage in his ship to Bombay,

whither it was to sail as soon as possible after his lordship had officially notified to Captain Keys his resignation of all control over him.

On the 9th of July, Mr. Salt sailed for Bombay, taking letters from Lord Valentia for Mr. Duncan the Governor, and also for Colonel Shawe, to be laid before the Governor-general. On the arrival of Mr. Salt, he delivered the dispatches with which he was charged to Mr. Duncan, who received him with great civility and friendliness. A short time afterwards his lordship joined Mr. Salt at Bombay, and had an immediate audience of the Governor, who assured him of his extreme regret at what had occurred, and promised to do his utmost to provide him a better ship, and more agreeable commander than the last, in the event of his lordship wishing to proceed either by way of Suez, or Bussorah, on his return to Europe; the latter of which plans Lord Valentia had once entertained some thoughts of adopting. It was, however, in the first instance, deemed advisable to communicate with the Governor-General, and as his Excellency's answer could not be received from Calcutta in less than six weeks, Lord Valentia thought it would be a good opportunity, in company with Mr. Salt, to visit Poonah and other places in the interior.

CHAPTER IV.

Quit Bombay.—Arrive at Poonah.—Scene of Famine on the Road.—Leave Poonah.—Salt's Drawings.—Return to Bombay.—Excursion to the Island of Salsette.—Sail for Mocha.—Survey of the Coast of the Red Sea.—Site of the ancient City of Adulis.—Return to Mocha.—Salt sent on a Mission to the Ras of Tigré.—The Journey.—Arrival at Antalo.—Interview with the Ras.

On the 6th of October, every thing being arranged, the party quitted Bombay and proceeded by Panwell, Campàly, &c. to Poonah, where they arrived on the 12th, having witnessed on their road the most horrible scenes of famine, in consequence of the recent devastation of Holcar's army. The dying and the dead lay mingled on the plain in dreadful fraternity, while the vultures and Paria dogs—

"Held o'er the dead their carnival."

Our travellers bestowed what relief they could in money, and, shuddering, hastened from these fearful scenes of human misery. It would have been in vain for them to offer anything in

the shape of sustenance, had they possessed the means; the natives having uniformly rejected with firmness, on similar occasions, the food that was tendered them by the hands of Christians. We may lament the superstitious infatuation of these deluded people; but it is impossible not to admire the undaunted resolution with which they adhere to a mistaken and even absurd faith in such dreadful moments of suffering and death.

On the 22nd Lord Valentia and his party quitted Poonah, and arrived at Chinchoor, where they paid a visit to Chinta-Mun-Deo, believed, by the Mahratta nation, to be an incarnation of their deity Gunputty. He was pleased to receive them very graciously; thence they went to see the caves of Carli, of which Mr. Salt made several drawings, as well as of many of the most striking scenes which they passed on the route. When their curiosity was satisfied at the caves of Carli, his lordship and some of his friends departed to Low Ghur, leaving Mr. Salt behind for a day, to complete his drawings. As soon as the travellers were again united, they set off to the top of the Candalla Gaut, which they descended after viewing the magnificent prospect seen from its summit, and returned to Bombay on the 1st of November.

On the 22nd they again set out on an excursion to the island of Salsette, to view the caves of Kenneri, and afterwards visited the celebrated cave on the isle of Elephanta, of all which Mr. Salt made drawings.

On returning to Bombay, they found that the Governor had ordered the Company's vessel, the Mornington, to be got in readiness to convey Lord Valentia and suite to Bussorah, to which place his lordship had determined to proceed, when dispatches from Lord Wellesley arrived, which induced him to alter his intentions, and to resume his survey of the Red Sea. The Panther cruiser was in consequence ordered to be prepared for the service, and Lieutenant Charles Court, an officer of high character,* was appointed to the command; and a small schooner, the Assaye, under Lieutenant Maxfield, (late second lieutenant of the Antelope,)† was appointed to sail in company as a tender.

Everything being in readiness for the voyage, the party, which had recently been augmented by Captain Rudland, of the Bombay army, took leave with deep regret of the excellent Governor,

* Afterwards Captain Court.

† Since Captain Maxfield of the Bombay Marine, and now M.P. for Great Grimsby.—Ed.

and set sail on the 4th of December for Mocha, where the two ships arrived on the 19th. Here, in consequence of some slight repair of the Panther becoming necessary, a little delay was occasioned; but the Assaye was sent forward on the 30th to Massowah, Mr. Maxfield being intrusted with letters to the Nayib, to request pilots to conduct the two ships from that place to Suakin, after which Mr. Maxfield was to join Lord Valentia at Dhalac.

During the stay of the Panther at Mocha, Pearce, the sailor, who had by this time heartily repented of his conduct, entreated his lordship, through Mr. Coffin, "to permit him to come on board, and attend him even as his slave to England." This request being complied with, he managed to effect his escape from the shore before the ships departed.

The 2nd of January, 1805, the Panther set sail for Massowah, at which place it arrived on the 16th. Here the party remained till the 21st, when they again embarked, and continued to prosecute the purposes of the voyage on the western shores of the Red Sea until they reached Suakin on the 10th of February.

It would be quite superfluous to enter into any detailed account of the accurate and minute

survey that was made of the coast in situations at times of considerable peril. It will be enough to observe generally, that during the whole of the proceedings Mr. Salt attended the party, and by his zeal and activity contributed greatly to further the purposes of the voyage; he also made many sketches.

One circumstance, however, attending the voyage, is worthy of notice. It had been a favourite object, both with Lord Valentia and Mr. Salt, to discover the site of the ancient city of Adulis, and they appear to have bestowed no inconsiderable share of assiduity in endeavouring to establish its precise situation; but though they continually passed and repassed, in their devious track, within a very short distance of the object of their research, it constantly eluded thier observation, and all they were able to accomplish on the subject was, to confirm, almost beyond a doubt, the conjectures of the acute and learned Dr. Vincent, as to the general position of the place.

In his second voyage to Abyssinia, Mr. Salt again attempted to discover the remains of this ancient city, which, from several circumstances he had learned at Massowah and other places, he was firmly convinced must exist somewhere

about the bottom of Annesley Bay, lying a little to the south-east of that town, and at a short distance from Zulla. In consequence of the information he had received, Mr. Salt was exceedingly anxious to have proceeded in person to the spot, but was unfortunately prevented by illness from accomplishing his purpose; he, however, sent a gentleman of the name of Steward upon the discovery, who got to Zulla, but was prevented reaching the ruins by the extreme jealousy of the natives; though the report he made on his return to Mr. Salt more than ever satisfied the latter of the truth of his former conviction.

In 1819 Pearce, on his return from Abyssinia, by the instructions of Mr. Salt, made a similar attempt, but was not suffered to enter even the town of Zulla, so great was the jealousy of the inhabitants with respect to the admission of strangers. The ruins of Adulis have, however, recently been actually visited by one of the party in the last expedition to Abyssinia. His notes relative to the discovery are now in England, and it is to be hoped that before long fresh and important information will be obtained from the same quarter. He found the ruins precisely in the situation in which Mr. Salt had predicted they

would be discovered, and he describes them as exceedingly magnificent; abounding with Greek and other statues, and with columns and inscriptions in various languages.

But to return. On the 26th of February the party quitted Suakin, and proceeded northward, after touching at several places, to Salaka, with the view of proceeding to Cosseir, but met with such boisterous weather, after reaching the former place on the 17th of March, that Lord Valentia was compelled to depart from his original intention, and to return to Mocha, till a more favourable opportunity should offer for prosecuting the voyage to Cosseir. At Mocha they once again arrived on the 27th of March, after having encountered dangers and perils in their adventurous undertaking, from which nothing, under Providence, could probably have preserved them but the cool intrepidity and skilful seamanship of Captain Court.

During his present stay at Mocha, Lord Valentia, from some intelligence he had received, came to the determination of sending Mr. Salt on a mission to the Ras of Tigré. In his lordship's former visit to the Red Sea, in 1804, he had made inquiries respecting the practicability of opening a communication with Abyssinia; and

from the information he had been able to gain, he entertained little doubt that it might be undertaken with every prospect of success, though, owing to the unfortunate events that rendered his return to Bombay necessary, the attempt was for a time suspended; but on his late visit to Massowah, in 1805, finding that the north-west monsoon, which had then set in, would render it impossible for him to reach Suez during the season, he deemed it a favourable opportunity for opening the long-proposed communication with the court of Habesh. Currum Chund, a Banian, who had been recommended to his lordship, acquainted him that the Ras Welled Selassé had expressed a wish to hear from him; and in consequence Lord Valentia gave a message to the Banian, which he desired him to put into writing, and to forward to the Ras of Tigré, with the least possible delay, by a special messenger.

This being accordingly executed, a favourable reply was returned to Currum Chund, with a letter in Arabic from the Ras to his lordship, expressing his wish that he would either visit him himself, or send some one on the mission. The dispatch was immediately forwarded by the Banian to Mocha, where it reached his lord-

ship on the 3rd of June 1805. From the ambiguous wording of the letter, however, it appeared doubtful whether the Ras had not confounded the Company's resident at Mocha (Mr. Pringle) with Lord Valentia; and it was in consequence determined that Mr. Salt should be sent on the expedition. Captain Rudland and a gentleman named Carter having expressed a desire to accompany Mr. Salt, their services were readily accepted. Pearce, the sailor, a boy named Andrew (who spoke English, Hindostanee, and tolerable Arabic), and Hamed Chamie, as interpreter, a highly respectable native of Mecca, were also added to the party.

All now was hurry and preparation, for, the season being far advanced, it was necessary that the expedition should return by the end of October, in order that advantage might be taken of the monsoon, which is only for a short time favourable in the upper part of the Red Sea. Everything being finally arranged, it was judged expedient that the party should go up to Massowah in the Panther, in order to give importance to the mission, and to check the insolence of the Dola of Arkeeko, who seemed disposed to throw every obstacle in the way that was likely to defeat the expedition.

On the 20th of June Mr. Salt, and the rest of the Abyssinian party, set sail for Massowah, where they arrived on the 28th, leaving Lord Valentia at Mocha till Captain Court should be able to return for him in the Panther, when he had seen Mr. Salt fairly started on his journey, and had made his proposed survey of the north of Dhalac. At Massowah Mr. Salt and the party were detained by nearly endless disputes and negotiations for the space of three weeks, occasioned by the cupidity and chicanery of the Nayib and his satellites; in the course of which Mr. Salt had need of all his patience, sagacity, and intrepidity, to bring matters to a favourable issue. After enduring, however, the most frivolous and vexatious delays, all difficulties were tolerably surmounted, and the party was at length permitted to depart for Arkeeko, on the 18th of July, the Nayib having proceeded thither a few hours before.

On their arrival at this horrible place, fresh delays and impositions were attempted by the Nayib and his officers; but the resolution and firmness of Mr. Salt, fortunately enforced by an accidental movement of the Panther towards the town, at last brought the Nayib and Dola to their senses, and the party, consisting of ten in

number, was unwillingly allowed to pursue its journey on the 20th to Shillokee, where it reposed for the night. In addition to the party above-mentioned, it was accompanied by a guard of twenty-five of the Nayib's ascari, and by about ten camel-drivers. The former appear to have been little better than a set of banditti of the worst description, and while they remained in company continually annoyed the expedition by their insolence and rapacity, and occasionally threatened its safety.

On the morning of the 21st of July Mr. Salt and his companions renewed their march by moonlight, over a country nearly burnt up by the heat of the sun, but abounding with acacias, some of which reached the height of forty feet. These trees were nearly without foliage, and the whole scene wore a dreary and desolate aspect, till the travellers reached the banks of a torrent called Wéah. At this spot the ascari and camel-drivers, thinking they had advanced far enough in the country to have the party at their mercy, began to display their usual misconduct in a manner that seemed to threaten the safety of their companions; but, awed by the firmness of the latter, and by the superiority of their fire-

arms, they desisted for the present from their nefarious attempts at extortion.

Proceeding on their route, the party reached a station called Markela, at that time occupied by a tribe of the Hazorta. Here the ascari again renewed their insolent behaviour, and declared that, unless their rapacious demands were complied with, they would take all the beasts of burden with them, and immediately return. To this threat Mr. Salt coolly replied, that they were welcome to go themselves, but that he would shoot the first man who meddled with the camels. In consequence, however, of what had passed, Mr. Salt ordered all the fire-arms to be loaded, and a two hours' watch to be kept during the night, consisting of himself, Captain Rudland, Mr. Carter, and Pearce.

On the morning of the 22nd the mules, long promised by the Nayib, did not arrive, and this delay furnished the ascari with a pretext for refusing to move till their old demands were complied with. Fortunately, at this junction an Abyssinian Christian arrived with ten mules from Dixan, by order of the Ras, to convey the party and its baggage in safety to his presence at Antalo. Upon receiving this welcome intelli-

gence, Mr. Salt told the chief of the ascari that he and his followers were at liberty to return. This, probably from the fear of future consequences, none of them chose to do; and, on their promising better behaviour, they were permitted to remain.

After a weary and sultry march, chiefly through the dry bed of a torrent, during which the travellers suffered much from thirst, they arrived at a small rising ground, called Ham-hammo, where they halted for the night. They had scarcely, however, begun to unload their camels when a dreadful storm of rain came on, accompanied by loud thunder and vivid lightning, which lasted many hours, and nearly deluged the party. To add to their distress, it was no sooner dark than the ascari gave a false alarm that the natives were coming to attack them. The report, however, proved groundless, and was probably raised by the ascari merely to create confusion, and to afford them an opportunity of plundering during the disorder. While the storm continued raging, many of the party, exhausted by fatigue, fell asleep, and, in spite of the forlornness of their situation, the rest at length followed their example.

In the morning a curious scene presented

itself, the ascari, camel-drivers, servants, and three asses, having crept into Mr. Salt's tent, which had been pitched as the storm began, where they all lay, promiscuously huddled together, without regard to rank or person. Before they recommenced the journey, on the 23rd, the Abyssinian guide came to Mr. Salt, and in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, suggested the propriety of dismissing the ascari, with which request he readily complied. These people, from their suspicious conduct, had created much uneasiness and alarm on several occasions, and the whole party was heartily glad to be rid of them; indeed, I have subsequently heard Captain Rudland declare, that had it not been for Salt's vigilance, judgment, and intrepidity, the whole party would probably have fallen a sacrifice, in more than one instance, to the villany of these perfidious wretches.

At four in the afternoon the travellers reached Sadoon, where they pitched their tent for the night, when the office of keeping watch was confided to Pearce, Hamed Chamie, and the Abyssinian guide. In the morning of the 24th the journey was resumed, and passing through a picturesque station, called Tubbo, they reached Illilah in the evening, and took up their abode

for the night under a tree, where they slept undisturbed.

On the morning of the 25th they resumed their journey at an early hour. The road, which had gradually risen from Arkeeko, now began to ascend rapidly as they approached Assubâ. Here they purchased a cow, to serve as provision for their followers in the ascent of Taranta, and in a short time reached the foot of that mountain. The ground now becoming too rugged for the camels, it became necessary to seek some other mode of conveying the baggage to Dixan: an attempt to procure bullocks from the Hazorta tribes for this purpose, was unsuccessful; but a bargain was at length made with some men and boys to carry the baggage on their shoulders. While this affair was arranging, a chief of consequence among the Hazorta had demanded some tobacco and coffee, for allowing the party to pass the mountain, which request not being mentioned directly to Mr. Salt, the chief fancied himself slighted, and rising in a violent passion, seized his arms, and rushed down the hill, followed by his attendants. Mr. Salt being informed of the matter, sent after him, explained the circumstance, and gave him the trifling articles he required. This put him agair

in good humour, and in the evening the Hazorta all returned, bringing with them an old man, who, raising his garment on a spear, requested silence, and made the following harangue :—

" Be it known to all, that these people who are passing are great men, friends of the Nayib of Massowah, friends of the Sultaun of Habesh, friends of the Ras Welled Selassé, and friends of Baharnegash Yasous. We have received and eaten of their meat, drank of their coffee, and partaken of their tobacco, and are therefore their friends : let no man dare molest them."

This speech was received with much applause; but the Nayib's people began anew their threats and demands. Their clamours, however, were not of much importance, now that the ascari had left them. At half past eleven on the 26th, after much wrangling with the Nayib's people, and nearly proceeding to blows, the party began to ascend the mountain of Taranta, which proved at first easy enough. Here the Nayib's people, knowing their consequence would cease after the mountain should be crossed, again became unruly, and began to desert ; fortunately, however, the travellers met a young Sheik, who undertook to be their guide, and they proceeded on

their journey. Soon afterwards the Nayib's guide again insisted on their halting for another day, and attempted even to lay hold of the mule to prevent their proceeding, but, Salt drawing his hanger, and declaring he would cut him down if he offered the slightest molestation, he desisted. He subsequently made a similar attempt, but, being again resisted, he gave up the point, and occasioned no further trouble.

The ascent of this celebrated pass was much less difficult than they had been led to expect, they being only three hours on the passage, and meeting with no extraordinary difficulties on the way. The descent appears to have cost them more trouble, owing to the road lying through gullies, down which the waters began to run with great force. They, however, reached a village within half a mile of Dixan, completely wet to the skin from the heavy rain that had fallen, and were well received by the poor inhabitants. As soon as some of the party were collected, they proceeded to Dixan, where the Baharnegash Yasous and the head man of the town were waiting to receive them. This chieftain proved afterwards one of Mr. Salt's best friends, but on the present occasion he seemed, probably from his poverty, rather inclined to

create delays, with the view of extorting dollars. On the whole, however, his reception of his guests was favourable. At this place the party was detained a fortnight, it being necessary for Mr. Salt to write to the Ras' secretary and to the Governor of Adowa, to state what animals would be wanted to convey the party and baggage to the presence of the Ras, to whom he had previously sent letters.

After several messages and letters had passed between Dixan and Antalo, without apparently forwarding matters, two men, of greater respectability than Mr. Salt had hitherto seen, arrived on the 12th of August, bringing with them the mules and two letters from the Ras. These persons were named Hadjee Hamet and Negada Moosa, and were attended by a numerous retinue. They had orders from the Ras to bring the party immediately, by the nearest road, to his presence, and they only requested one day's delay to refresh their attendants, which being granted, the whole party quitted Dixan at length, on the morning of the 14th of August.

Dixan is described as a poor and miserable place, and the people, with few exceptions, as very idle, ignorant, and dirty. As the travellers advanced in their route, the face of the country

began greatly to improve in its general appearance: some parts of it were in an high state of cultivation, and the vegetation extremely luxuriant. They passed many villages, most of which were built on elevated situations, somewhat resembling the hill-forts of India.

Their reception at the different places at which they halted, appears to have varied considerably, being treated on some occasions with much civility and hospitality, and on others with great coolness and inattention. At Asceriah, in particular, they experienced great difficulty in procuring even water for their consumption, and would have been suffered to pass the night under a tree, had it not been for an old man who received them into his house. On the morning of the 16th of August they were awakened at a very early hour by their conductor, Negada Moosa, who was anxious to hurry them away from this inhospitable place; they had scarcely however set forward on their way, when they were overtaken by a party of men and the chief of the place, who, probably from a wholesome dread of the Ras's resentment, intreated them with all his eloquence to return. The request, however, was not complied with, and Mr. Salt and his company went forward on their journey

to Abha, where they were received with great cordiality by Baharnegash Subhart, an old man of considerable consequence, and who had formerly been much attached to Ras Michael Suhul. Here Mr. Salt observed that much more attention was paid to form than at Dixan, no one being suffered to enter into the presence of the Baharnegash without uncovering to the waist; he was also never addressed but in a whisper.

This chief was very anxious to detain the travellers, but upon Guebra Eyut, a boy belonging to the Ras, informing them that the Baharnegash only wanted a handsome present, Mr. Salt, on consulting with Hadjee Hamet and Negada Moosa, determined to proceed the next morning in spite of the strong, though polite remonstrances of the old man. Early on the morning of the 17th, the Baharnegash brought a cow and some honey, giving a hint at the same time that a present was expected in return, which Mr. Salt evaded, upon the plea that, as he was going to the Ras, he was furnished with no presents for any one else; he, however, referred him to Hamed Chamie, who was intrusted with the settlement of matters of this nature; but as the Baharnegash had really been friendly, Mr. Salt, after some conversation with the Ras's

people, ordered him to be paid twenty dollars, with which he appeared highly satisfied.

The mules were now ordered to be loaded, when the old man came again, and with a very serious air acquainted Mr. Salt he had just received intelligence that three thousand men had assembled to intercept the expedition, and that, unless he were with him, they ran a great risk of being plundered; he therefore intreated they would remain till next day; but Mr. Salt replied, that they were not easily alarmed, that they were well furnished with fire-arms, and that, in the event of their being overpowered, the aggressors would be answerable with their lives to the Ras; he should therefore proceed without delay: upon which no farther attempt was made to detain them. They passed several villages in their way to Muzambah, at one of which a sort of market was held, that appeared well supplied with a variety of articles for barter, from the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts. The Baharnegash soon after overtook them, and accompanied them through a pass over a high and rugged mountain, the descent of which on the opposite side, occasioned them some trouble. At length they reached the ruinous village of Recaito, where they had a difficulty in procuring

a shed for the night; there they got a little supper, but in general were treated with incivility.

On the 18th they proceeded to Shihah; the Baharnegash behaved during this day's journey with much attention. He dismounted, and even offered his own mule to Mr. Salt to ride, but afterwards hinted to Captain Rudland that a little more money would be acceptable. At this place they rested for the night, in the middle of which an alarm was given of the approach of an enemy. A noise was heard that resembled a drum beating, but it turned out nothing more than an old woman grinding corn, which is here always done at night. The report, however, of a hostile force being at hand still continuing, they at length learned that two brothers, Agoos and Subegadis,* with their army, were coming to attack the place, though without any hostile intent towards the party.

* The latter was the distinguished chief so frequently mentioned in Pearce's Journal, and who subsequently became Ras of Tigré. He was, at the time of Mr. Salt's first visit to Abyssinia, not much more than twenty years of age; but, even at that early period, was greatly distinguished for his capacity, courage, and enterprise. I regret to state that he appears to have fallen a victim to the misguided zeal of some of the foreign missionaries. On the 13th of February, 1831, he suffered an hostile army to cross the

Several messengers were however sent out to ascertain the designs of the advancing chiefs, who reported, on their return, that Subegadis, on hearing Mr. Salt and his party were on the road, had deferred the attack till the travellers had passed on to the Ras. They judged it however expedient to rest with their fire-arms beside them, during the remainder of the night. On the morning of the 19th fresh alarms were given, but without foundation, and they proceeded on their way to Genater, which they reached on the 21st. This place is the capital of the district called Agawme, over which Subegadis presided. He received the party in the most hospitable style, and, as his manners were far more polished than those of any Abyssinian Mr. Salt had hitherto met with, the time passed agreeably enough under his friendly roof.

Here they were entertained by the sight of an Abyssinian banquet. Subegadis and his wife, a very pretty woman, sat at the head of the table,

Tacazze unopposed, because he was unwilling to fight on a Sunday. In consequence, he was the next day totally defeated, taken prisoner, and on the following day put to death. These unfortunate events plunged the whole country into the most dreadful confusion, and have ever since exposed its helpless inhabitants to all the miseries and horrors incident to an Abyssinian civil war.

behind a half-drawn curtain. Mr. Salt presented the lady with a pair of ear-rings, and her husband with a piece of muslin, with which he was so much delighted, that he took him by the hand, and said he should ever consider him as a friend.

During their stay at Genater, Captain Rudland, who appears to have been an excellent sportsman, shot two eagles, which astonished and delighted the people, as they had never before seen a bird killed flying. On the morning of the 22nd the party took leave of their kind friends, and proceeded to Takata; here they were met by a messenger, bringing with him a mule from the Ras, for Mr. Salt's own riding.

August 23 the march was again resumed till they halted at a hill, on one side of the plain of Ayaddah, on which are situated the twelve villages of Amba Manut. Here they were much pressed by the inhabitants to stay, but Mr. Salt, anxious to lose no time, was obliged to refuse: upon which the chiefs surrounded him, placed stones on their heads and necks, and intreated him, in the most humble manner, to comply. At length Mr. Salt was obliged to force his way through the throng, and gallop off to his friends; heavy rains, however, coming on, the party were

obliged to stop for the night about two miles farther on the road.

They came on the 24th to a larger village, where they received a hearty welcome, and were most hospitably entertained by Ayto Guebra. They departed on the 25th, and visited on the route a convent, or church, cut out of the solid rock, called Abuhasubha, the inside of which was ornamented with crosses, paintings, and inscriptions in the Ethiopic character; there was nothing observable that could lead to the period when the excavation was formed. Mr. Salt conjectures it might have been constructed at the command of the Emperor Lalibala, by Egyptian workmen.

On the 26th the travellers reached Dirbah. At this place they were joined by Subegadis, who accompanied them on the 27th to Chelicut, where they were accommodated in a house belonging to the Ras, who had given orders that they should be treated with every possible mark of attention. They visited the church at this place, which was composed of three concentric circular walls, covered with a thatched roof. The spaces between the two outer walls were open avenues; the space included in the central wall formed the body of the church, the walls

of which were coated with plaster, and ornamented with gilding, painting, &c. Chelicut was the residence of Ozoro Mantwaub, the Ras's favourite wife. She sent many polite messages to the party, and supplied their table very liberally.

August 28th they left Chelicut, and having prepared themselves as well as they could for going into the presence of the Ras, they at length came in sight of Antalo. As they approached, the crowd increased rapidly, to the amount of at least three thousand of the inhabitants, who pressed so hard upon the travellers, that it was with great difficulty they forced a passage through the first gate of the Ras's residence. They were not allowed to dismount till they had reached the entrance of the great hall; at the farther end of which the Ras was seated on a couch with two large pillows upon it, covered with rich satin; on each side of him his principal chiefs were seated, on a carpeted floor. On being ushered into his presence, with much bustle, Mr. Salt and his party kissed the back of the Ras's hand, who in like manner kissed, in turn, the hand of each; the Ras then pointed to a couch, on which the party were seated, and, after the usual compliments had passed, the audience was over,

Captain Rudland having been previously taken to view the apartments that had been allotted them.

The Ras was small in stature, and delicately formed, quick in his manner, with a shrewd expression, and considerable dignity in his deportment. By kissing the hands of the travellers, he had placed them on an equality with himself. At first they had been required to uncover their heads, and prostrate themselves, but this they positively refused. In the course of the day they received abundance of provisions, and were otherwise treated with great attention and politeness. At twelve at night the Ras sent them some clouted cream, and at four Mr. Salt was called up to receive the compliments of the morning, which afforded him no indifferent specimen of the Ras's watchfulness. About two in the morning the party were invited to breakfast with the Ras, and were received with the same distinction as before, the Ras feeding them himself somewhat in the same way as boys in England cram young magpies.

On the 30th, at an early hour, Mr. Salt was sent for to attend the Ras, when he delivered Lord Valentia's letter and presents, which gave great satisfaction. He afterwards entered into

a long conversation with the Ras, in which the wishes of his lordship and the object of the mission were fully discussed, in all of which the Ras seemed much interested, and, in return, gave Mr. Salt a full account of the state of public affairs in Abyssinia, and his reasons for refusing him permission to visit Gondar in the then disturbed state of the country; he gave his consent, however, that Salt should proceed to Waldubba and Axum. Mr. Salt and the Ras now parted, mutually pleased with each other.

CHAPTER V.

Altered conduct of the Ras.—An explanation.—Misconduct of Hadjee Hamet.—Journey to Adowa.—Arrival at Axum.—Ancient Inscription.—Abyssinian Church and Obelisk.—Irreconcilable statements of Salt and Bruce.—Return to Adowa.—Abyssinian ladies.—Leave Adowa.—Arrival at Antalo.—Muster of the Ras's army.—Confidence re-established between Salt and the Ras.—Take leave of the Ras.—Journey back towards Massowah.—Salt and his party join their friends on board the Panther.—Termination of the first Expedition to Abyssinia.—Conduct of the Nayib of Massowah.—Perilous situation of the Panther.—Inhospitable reception at Massowah.—Sail for Jidda.—Join a caravan for Cairo.—Excursion to the Pyramids.—Embark in a Canja on the Nile.—Return to England.

SEPTEMBER 1st, mules were furnished for Captain Rudland and Mr. Salt to take a ride and view the environs of Antalo. Their followers, however, were confined with great strictness to a walled enclosure, about thirty feet square; and on Mr. Salt remonstrating on the subject, he was told, it was done for their security. It

began to be evident soon after, from the coolness of the Ras and his wish to avoid any private interview, that some intriguing was going on, which caused the party a good deal of uneasiness, and they were induced, from several circumstances, to believe that Hadjee Hamet, who had absented himself, and was in the interest of the sheriffe of Mecca, was playing a false part, and exciting the jealousy of the Ras against them. The event soon justified these apprehensions.

After repeated applications for an audience, which were as constantly evaded under the most frivolous pretexts, Mr. Salt determined on at once cutting the Gordian knot, by going without ceremony into the presence of the Ras, attended by Captain Rudland, and coming to a full explanation. On entering, they found the Ras at chess, who offered them his hand and seated them by his side. Not a word was spoken to them, and they were obliged to wait with patience till the interminable game was over. At length they were left alone, and Mr. Salt entered into the subject of his visit. The Ras was gloomy at first, but, as the explanation went on, he began to relax into his usual kind humour, and at length they parted good friends, Mr. Salt

having obtained his permission to proceed on his visit to Adowa and Axum, to the latter of which places he proposed setting off in a day or two. Mr. Carter was also allowed to go on a distinct mission to Buré, while Captain Rudland was to remain at Antalo, the Ras wishing Mr. Salt to go with as few attendants as possible on his journey.

September 5th, and the several following days, new causes of delay were started, and fresh altercations ensued, in the course of which the misconduct of Hadjee Hamet and of Currum Chund, the Banian at Massowah, were detected. It was at last settled that the Ras should accompany Mr. Salt the next morning, the 9th, to Muculla. The Ras, however, got the start of him, and left him to shift for himself, not a little embarrassed at the suspicious conduct of the Ras. He judged it, however, best to overtake him as soon as possible, and set out immediately, with only two or three attendants, for Muculla, where he joined the Ras, and was received with the usual kindness. Early on the morning of the 11th of September he was greatly surprised by receiving salaams from the Ras, with the intelligence that he was gone on an hunting-party, and would not be back till the evening;

which seemed the more singular, as he had appointed Mr. Salt and Captain Rudland, who had arrived from Antalo, to meet him at seven in the morning. As there appeared, however, no remedy, and everything was ready for his departure, Mr. Salt set forward on his route, being with great regret obliged to leave the captain without any interpreter. The adventures of this gentleman, during his temporary separation from his friend, are narrated with some humour in the short journal which he kept on the occasion. He was, however, treated with great kindness by the Ras during the absence of Mr. Salt.

In the evening of this day Mr. Salt and his few attendants reached Hasemko, and were received with much attention by the chief. On the following morning the journey was resumed to Admara; thence, descending the pass of Atbara, they arrived before dark at the hospitable mansion of Palambaras Toclu. At an early hour, September 13th, they proceeded to a place called Tsai, and the next day reached Adowa, having stopped on their way to visit an ancient church, named Abba Garima, said to have been built by Guebra Mascal in 560. At Adowa Mr. Salt was treated with much kindness by Nebrida

Aram, a person of great power and consequence in the country. On the 16th he quitted Adowa, but, as he went to take leave of his friendly host, he was much surprised on going into the hall, at being introduced to Fasilydas, the son of Yasons, who had been placed by Ras Guxo on the throne. He received Mr. Salt with great politeness, and seemed anxious to have a private conversation, but was prevented.

The party then resumed the road to Axum. They visited, in the course of the journey, a singular place, called Calam Negus, of which an interesting account is given, and in the evening reached Axum. Here Mr. Salt spent several days in examining the various antiquities of the place, and in making drawings of everything worthy of notice. In consequence of his being on good terms with the priests belonging to the church, they were anxious to show him every curiosity with which they were acquainted in the neighbourhood, and, in particular, he was led from their reports to inspect an upright stone, on which it was said there was some ancient writing. The first side examined occasioned Mr. Salt much disappointment, as he found nothing except a few slight remains of unknown characters; but on turning to the other side, he

was amply repaid for his trouble, as he found it covered with an inscription in Greek, which has thrown much light on a very obscure part of ancient history. A fac-simile of this is given in his Journal, which has greatly excited the attention of the learned. He has also given an Ethiopic inscription, very short, but the only one he could discover among the ruined fragments that lie scattered behind the King's seat, where the ancient monarchs of Axum were crowned.

His drawing and description of the church at this place gives a much higher idea of its consequence, for an Abyssinian structure, than we should be led to expect from Mr. Bruce's account of it. His view also of the celebrated obelisk differs so materially in appearance from the one given by the former gentleman, that it is difficult to imagine them representations of the same object. Great discrepancies are likewise observable in the respective accounts given of Axum by the two travellers; but, as it is probable that before long the authenticity of one of them will be fully established, it can answer no good purpose in this place to enter into a discussion which has already, in some quarters, called forth no very creditable specimens of literary cavilling

and of party hostility. Mr. Salt was, I know, a remarkably good and correct draftsman, and I have rarely ever met with any gentleman who had a more exemplary regard for truth, or who was less the victim of prejudice and vanity. That he may occasionally, in common with us all, have been inadvertently led by others into some mistakes, is certainly possible, but when he speaks from his own personal knowledge and experience, his warmest friends need be under no apprehension that time and investigation will tend to impeach the accuracy of his delineations or the veracity of his statements.

September 19th Mr. Salt and his party left Axum and returned to Adowa, where they were hospitably greeted by the chief Mussulmaun, Nebrida Aram having just set out for Antalo with a considerable body of soldiers. In the afternoon Mr. Salt had a long visit from an Ozoro, who appeared to come under the description of "fat, fair, and forty." Another lady also, called Ozoro Tishai, sent a polite message, requesting him to call upon her, as she much wished to see him. He accordingly went in the evening, and was received by her on this, as well as on another occasion, with great civility and

attention. She was a woman of pleasing manners, though of a dark complexion.

On the 21st of September Mr. Salt left Adowa with regret, its inhabitants being more civilized than any he had yet met with in Abyssinia. The town itself is extensive, but the buildings are of a very wretched description. The party, on their return, pursued a route a little to the south of the one formerly traversed, when they again struck into the old track, and arrived at Antalo on the 24th, where they again joined Captain Rudland and Mr. Carter, the mission of the latter to Buré, greatly to the disappointment of Mr. Salt, not having been pursued.

On the 26th they witnessed the muster of the Ras's army, and attended a grand feast, of both of which a particular and curious account is given. In a day or two after Mr. Salt called on Bashaw Abdallah, who had been sent for by the Ras from Adowa to settle all arrangements respecting the travellers, and, to his great surprise, learned that the Ras was most anxious for their safety, but that he had been much biassed against them by Currum Chund, the Banian, who had even written to him from Massowah, since their arrival, and had warned him of their

being dangerous people. In consequence of this intelligence Mr. Salt went to the Ras, and, in the presence of Bashaw Abdallah, who interpreted the conversation in a very different way from Hadjee Hamet on former occasions, had a full and satisfactory explanation of past events, when the most complete confidence was established on both sides, the Ras assuring Mr. Salt that they had both been much imposed upon.

Mr. Salt then expressed a wish that he might be allowed to depart for Massowah, by the way of Adowa and Axum, on the following Monday; the Ras, however, begged the party might remain with him a few days longer, and seemed averse from the other proposal on the ground of their personal safety, which he thought might be endangered in the route from Adowa to Dixan, that part of the country not being under his command. Mr. Salt acquiesced in the first request, and for the present remained silent as to the second, though he greatly wished to revisit Axum. Shortly after this letters were delivered to Mr. Salt by the Ras, from his sovereign, for the King of England, with a request that they might be safely conveyed to Lord Valentia.

October 1st, Pearce having been invited by the Ras to remain in the country, and who had

frequently hinted the subject to Mr. Salt, had now fully determined on remaining, could he gain the consent of the latter. This, upon the Ras asking Pearce the question in the presence of Mr. Salt, was at length obtained, and every arrangement was made that could tend to his future comfort and security. The affair being settled to the satisfaction of all parties, Mr. Salt remained for several days longer with the Ras at Antalo, during which he was entertained with the most familiar kindness and confidence by the Ras and all the principal people of the country.

Feeling anxious, however, to return to Massowah, where about this time the Panther, with Lord Valentia, had probably arrived, Mr. Salt again solicited the Ras to consent to his proceeding by the way of Adowa to that place; which being at length granted, the whole party, after taking leave of the Ras, who was greatly affected on the occasion, departed on the morning of the 10th of October, by the former route, for Adowa and Axum, which places they successively reached on the 18th. In his second visit to the latter place, Mr. Salt and his companions went again to the church, and searched most strictly among the pedestals and the ruins,

but found no trace of an inscription, except the short Ethiopic one before mentioned; and every person of whom they inquired, assured them there was no other.

October 19th the same party went to examine the Greek inscription once more, and went over the whole of it letter by letter. They found several new letters, which they had at first been unable to trace, but no entire line; after which they again visited Calam Negus, which Mr. Salt conjectures to be the catacombs of the ancient city; and then returned to Adowa. On the 22nd they quitted this place, on their route to Dixan, where they arrived November 1st, without molestation, except from the villagers of a place called Asshashen, which might have ended seriously but for the promptitude and resolution of Mr. Salt. At Dixan they were received with many demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants and the Baharnegash Yasous, which probably in a great measure arose from the favourable treatment they had experienced from the Ras, and their good offices in getting Yasous regularly appointed to the office of Baharnegash, which, since the death of his father, he had applied for in vain.

They left this place November 3rd, nearly by

their former route, for Arkeeko. Near Hamhammo they were joined by Baharnegash Yasous, with four or five followers, which infused fresh spirits into the bearers of the luggage, &c. As the party approached Arkeeko, they were under some apprehension lest a report that they had heard on the way, of the non-arrival of the Panther, might prove true, in which case, from the former hostile disposition of the Dola, they anticipated no small trouble and personal hazard. To keep up the spirits of the party, Mr. Salt had ventured to assure them that the ship would certainly appear on their reaching the coast, and, by a fortunate coincidence, as the day broke the Panther was seen in the offing, which produced a great sensation among the attendants, and particularly on the old Baharnegash, who kissed Mr. Salt's hand, exclaiming, "You know everything!"

On their arrival at Arkeeko, on the 7th of November, they learned that the Nayib of Massowah was there, and took up their residence in the old house; but Mr. Carter venturing to walk out, was pelted with stones by some of the inhabitants, and several of his companions coming in for a similar compliment, Mr. Salt immediately sent for the Nayib's son, loaded all the muskets

in his presence, and declared he would shoot the next person who again offended. This menace produced the desired effect. Soon after the cutter of the Panther came off, and carried them on board, to the mutual and heartfelt joy of themselves and their friends.

The Baharnegash was received with great kindness and attention by Lord Valentia, which indeed he had well merited by his general behaviour to Mr. Salt and his companions during the expedition. He was astonished and delighted with the ship, and the mode in which the guns were worked, but was terribly alarmed, at his first coming on board, by the salute of eleven guns, fired in honour of Mr. Salt's return, and which he thought were directed against the town. All his expenses during his stay were paid, and when he departed he promised, in return for the treatment he had experienced, to befriend Pearce, and to protect him with his life. He took with him several letters from Lord Valentia for the Ras, Bashaw Abdallah, and Pearce.

Thus terminated Mr. Salt's first journey to Abyssinia. At the period of his undertaking it he was scarcely twenty-five years of age, and had little or no experience to guide him in an

expedition of this nature, yet his natural ability, sagacity, and resolution vanquished every difficulty, and enabled him to triumph over obstacles which to a less determined character might have appeared nearly insurmountable. His industry during his short absence must have been exemplary, since, besides writing his journal, he collected many various specimens in natural history, and greatly added to his collection of drawings. The fact was, that from the moment of his being appointed to command the expedition he found himself placed in circumstances which required him to act independently of others, and to rely solely on his own energy and resources; he saw the path to fame opened before him, and, seizing the occasion with avidity, pursued his purpose with a steady perseverance, which neither his occasional indolence nor his bodily infirmities were subsequently able to impede or arrest.

The sketches which Salt made during this short excursion are remarkable for their freedom and character, and are rendered doubly interesting by the strong internal evidence they bear of scrupulous accuracy and fidelity. Some of them have been engraved and published in the "Travels," and in his "Twenty-four

Views;" and the whole collection is at present in the possession of Lord Valentia, now Earl of Mountnorris. At the request of that nobleman Mr. Salt, on his return, drew up a short dissertation on the history of Abyssinia, which is inserted in the "Travels," and discovers much ingenuity, research, and intelligence.

The conduct of the Nayib of Massowah having been marked by great incivility, during the present stay of the Panther at that place, made Lord Valentia anxious to take his departure for Jidda; and accordingly, everything being in readiness, the ship left the port on the 14th of November, and proceeded on its destination. It had not, however, made much way when a violent storm arose in the night, accompanied by vivid lightning, which most providentially enabled Captain Court to observe a shoal, on which the ship was fast drifting. The anchors were immediately let go, but they all parted before morning, except the sheet-anchor, which held out till noon the next day, when it also gave way. The situation of the ship and every one in it now became perilous in the extreme: they discovered that they were in a kind of bay, formed by two reefs, and a sandy island at the bottom. To weather either of the former was

impossible, as the wind then blew, and the only chance which appeared of saving their lives was to run the ship ashore on the island.

In this dreadful situation the captain was cool and collected, and the ship's company active and steady. He shook Lord Valentia by the hand, told him all was over with the ship, and recommended that they should do the best they could to save each other's lives. The sails were then set to run for the island, and an unsuccessful attempt was first made to weather the western reef; the ship then wore round for the island, but at that moment Captain Court observed the wind had changed a point, and he instantly determined to try and weather the eastern reef, which he at length happily accomplished, passing in a heavy gale, gunwale under water, within two cables' length of the point of the reef, over which the sea broke tremendously.

After escaping this imminent danger they again bore away for Massowah, which they reached on the 26th. Here they were received with more inhospitality than before, which, in spite of the loss of their anchors, determined them, on consultation, to run all risks, and to shape their course across the Red Sea for Jidda, where, after having been repeatedly baffled by

adverse winds and currents, they at length arrived on the 9th of December. At this place they remained till the 2nd of January 1806, taking in various supplies of wood, water, and provisions, of which they had begun to be in very great want; they also procured some indifferent anchors and cables, and, upon the whole, were treated with respect and attention by the Vizier and the inhabitants. On the 26th they reached Suez, and on the 13th of February proceeded, in company with a large caravan, across the desert to Cairo, having fortunately escaped an apprehended attack from robbers in the course of the passage.

At Cairo they arrived on the 16th, and were kindly received by the resident European gentlemen. They also got a congratulatory message from Mohammed Ali Pasha on their arrival, by whom Lord Valentia and suite were afterwards treated with great friendship and distinction. At this city they remained nearly a month. They visited during this period everything that was interesting in the place, and made an excursion to the Pyramids. At Cairo Salt added to his stock of sketches, from some of which Mr. Barker afterwards painted his panorama of that city, subsequently exhibited in Leicester

Square. Here, too, Mr. Salt was introduced to Ali Pasha, over whom, in after times, he obtained so much influence, when Consul-General in Egypt.

On the 10th of March they embarked in a canja, and proceeded down the Nile to Rosetta, and thence to Alexandria, where they arrived on the 24th. There being at this time no vessel in the harbour in which it was possible for them to sail for Europe, Major Missett, the British Consul-General, politely wrote to Sir Alexander Ball at Malta, to request an armed vessel might be sent for Lord Valentia and suite. In the mean while his lordship visited Damietta and many neighbouring places, till an answer was received from Malta, which could not be expected under six weeks. On the 20th of May the party returned to Alexandria, where they found a vessel had arrived from Malta, in which his lordship agreed with the captain to take his passage for Europe.

On the 22nd of June they set sail for Malta, at which place they arrived, after a tedious passage, on the 26th of July; and on the 24th of August embarked for England in the Diana, Captain Lamb. They reached Gibraltar on the 17th of September, and, after a short stay,

they again embarked, and arrived at St. Helena on the 24th of October 1806. On the 26th they went on shore at Portsmouth, after having been absent from England four years and four months.

CHAPTER VI.

Salt's arrival in London.—His character modified by travel.—His ambition.—His visit to his native city.—Prepares his journals for the press.—Lord Valentia's proposal to the East India Company.—Mr. Canning's Letter on the appointment of Salt on a Mission to Abyssinia.—Preparations for the voyage.—Suddenness of his departure.——Remarkable circumstance.—A Vision.—Parting.—Unexpected return.—Salt's Letter to Lord Valentia.—He re-embarks.—Distressing Spectacle at Portsmouth.

On his arrival in London Mr. Salt's first care was to visit all his old friends and acquaintance, none of whom it was in his nature ever to neglect or forget, whether they were elevated by successful exertion or depressed by adverse circumstances. I believe I was the first of his friends on whom he called, and we soon found that time and absence had wrought no change in the regard which we had mutually entertained for each other almost from the commencement of our acquaintance. Salt had lost much of the boyishness of his earlier days, and though still frolicksome and eccentric, had acquired in the

main, a sedateness, independence, and solidity of character which, to those who knew him only superficially, might have appeared nearly foreign to his nature. The various countries he had visited, and the society to which he had been introduced, had removed many of his earlier prejudices, and had greatly enlarged and extended the sphere of his knowledge, which, joined to his great colloquial powers, rendered his conversation highly amusing and instructive.

Yet amidst the habitual gaiety and apparent levity of his disposition, it was not very difficult for his intimates to discover, through the veil which disguised the secret workings of his soul, the thirst for fame, and the deep-seated ambition that formed the master-spring of his actions. In the gratification of his love of distinction, he neglected nothing which seemed likely to ensure his final triumph, and no honourable means of obtaining it appeared too insignificant for his notice, or too elevated to escape his solicitude; he had now obtained a deep knowledge of men, and of their various customs, habits, and manners, and his natural sagacity quickly enabled him to apply this knowledge in the manner most likely to ensure success in the objects of his pursuit.

He and I soon became more intimate than ever, and in his serious moments he frequently observed to me, it should go hard with him, if before the close of life he did not obtain some respectable niche in the temple of Fame; and as often has he urged me, in the warmth of friendship, and almost in the language of prophetic warning, to abandon my pursuit as he had done, and to share in his fortunes. Time has, in all probability, proved that he was right; but many important considerations induced me to decline his offer.

Some months after his return to England, Mr. Salt received a letter from Captain Charles Court, which, as it is written in terms of great kindness and friendship, I insert.

On board the H. C. C. Panther,

"MY DEAR SALT, Dec. 14th, 1806.

"The Mercury packet, at present under convoy of the H. C. C. Panther, under my command, being bound for England with despatches from the superior Government of India, I avail myself with pleasure of the opportunity, not to write to you the long history of my peregrinations since we parted, which I promised you, but a few lines merely as a *salvo con-*

scientiæ for not doing so, and to afford you a proof of what I wish and trust you may never doubt: that, although one half of the terraqueous globe stands between us, you still are present and live in my affectionate remembrance. You will, I suppose, be somewhat surprised to learn by this, that as soon as I have seen the Mercury safe on her passage, as far as six or seven degrees south latitude, I am to bend my course in the Panther back to Bombay. This is not precisely the issue expected either by Lord Valentia, or myself, of my mission to Bengal. I refer you to his lordship for particulars relative to this subject, and shall not fail to write to you again as soon as I reach Bombay. The Mercury has just now hove to, to send her letters for India to the Panther, and receive ours for England. I have, therefore, only time enough to beg of you to accept my cordial wishes for your health, happiness, and prosperity, and to assure you that I remain, with affectionate regard, most sincerely yours,

"CHARLES COURT."

"P.S. M'Ghee, and all on board the Panther, desire to be most kindly remembered to you. Adieu."

"To Henry Salt, Esq."

After Mr. Salt had remained for a short time in London, he went into the country, to visit his father, and several of his relatives and friends; and wherever he went, he was received with great kindness and distinction — particularly in his native city, Lichfield. He was introduced into the highest society the place afforded, and experienced great attention from the Very Rev. Doctor Wodehouse, its amiable and excellent Dean, with whom he henceforth lived on the most friendly terms, and occasionally corresponded. Here, also, he formed an acquaintance with Sir Francis Darwin, which continued during the remainder of his life, and with other of the principal inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood.

On his return to London, he set seriously to work in arranging and preparing his Journal for the press, and in making drawings from his sketches for his Twenty-four Views, and also for Lord Valentia's Travels. At all of which he laboured with an exemplary perseverance, which could scarcely have been looked for, from one whose mind had now become directed to higher objects, and who, from the roving habits he had probably acquired during the last four or five years, must have felt such sedentary employ-

ments very uncongenial with his feelings, if not absolutely irksome. The result of his labours, however, proves the greatness of his assiduity, and the attention he bestowed on the occasion; since, as far as relates to the illustrations, few works have ever been placed before the public that merit a larger share of approbation. In saying this, I do not mean to deny that many of the individual compositions, simply considered as such, might have been rendered more captivating to the eye by management, and by the sacrifice of fidelity and character.

In these and similar avocations, Mr. Salt spent the greater part of the years 1807, 8, and 9; he had likewise a good deal of various correspondence on his hands. His acquaintance had become much increased, and, I believe, had it proved consistent with the nature of his employments, scarcely a day need have passed, during the whole period, without his dining or spending the evening with some one or other of his numerous friends.

While Salt was thus busily engaged, Lord Valentia, who was impressed with the idea that considerable advantages might be derived from this country by opening a trade with the Red Sea, had waited upon the Court of Directors of

the East India Company, and had laid before them a memorial, stating his notions on the subject. The proposition does not appear to have met the views of that Court; but the President and Board of Trade listened with great attention to the application of Messrs. Jacob, who felt, from his lordship's report, anxious to send a vessel direct to the Red Sea. As the Chairman of the East India Company, &c. appeared to consider any plan of the above nature chimerical, the Court of Directors could not very well refuse a licence to the application of Messrs. Jacob, and finally one was granted them to trade direct to Abyssinia, though fettered with considerable restrictions.

This matter being settled, it was deemed by Government a favourable opportunity for replying to the letter from the Emperor of Abyssinia to the King of Great Britain, which had been intrusted to Mr. Salt to deliver to Lord Valentia. This letter had been laid before his Majesty by Lord Spencer, and also the presents by which it was accompanied. Accordingly while Messrs. Jacob's ship was preparing for the voyage, Lord Valentia waited on Mr. Canning then Foreign Secretary, and represented the advantages which he conceived might accrue

from, conciliating the King of Abyssinia. His lordship also suggested that, as the Emperor's letter and presents had been accepted, it would be but decorous that some notice should be taken of them when an English vessel was going direct to his ports. In consequence of this statement, his lordship was requested by Mr. Canning to prepare such presents as he thought would be acceptable; and, it appearing desirable that a letter, which had been written to the Emperor by his Majesty's order, should be delivered by a gentleman specially sent for that purpose, Mr. Salt was recommended by his lordship as the most eligible person, not only from his previous knowledge of the country, but also from his amiable manners and respectable character. Mr. Salt was accordingly appointed, and in a short time his lordship received the following official letter and memorandum from Mr. Canning.

"Foreign Office, Jan. 6th, 1809.

"My Lord,

"In consequence of your lordship's communication respecting the letter and presents from the King of Abyssinia to his Majesty, which your lordship brought to this country in the

year 1806, his Majesty has been pleased to return to the King of Abyssinia's letter the answer which I have herewith the honour to inclose; together with a list of the presents which his Majesty has directed should accompany the letter.

"Your lordship having recommended Mr. Salt, the gentleman by whom the King of Abyssinia's letter to his Majesty was transmitted to your lordship from the capital of Gondar, as a fit person to be entrusted with the commission of conveying his Majesty's letter and presents to the Court of Abyssinia; I have therefore to request that your lordship will deliver over to him that letter, with the presents which your lordship has had the goodness to take the trouble of selecting and preparing; and will also give to Mr. Salt such instructions for the regulation of his conduct, as may appear to be necessary, conformably to the tenour of the enclosed memorandum.

"A sum of five hundred pounds is advanced to Mr. Salt for his outfit, and a like sum for the expenses of his mission, of which he is to keep an exact account, to be given in on his return. A passage is provided for him on board a merchant vessel, bound to the Red Sea, which is

to wait to bring him back. I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Your lordship's

"Most obedient humble servant,

"GEORGE CANNING."

"Lord Viscount Valentia,"
&c. &c. &c.

"*Memorandum.*

"On Mr. Salt's arrival in the Red Sea, he will use his own discretion in making choice of the most eligible place to land, for the purpose of proceeding to the Court of Abyssinia.

"Mr. Salt will provide the requisite means for his journey thither, and for the conveyance of his Majesty's presents; and he is authorised to hire sufficient numbers of attendants, for his personal security and convenience, and to make the necessary presents to the chiefs whose territories he must pass through. But Mr. Salt will be particularly careful not to engage an unnecessary number of attendants; nor to incur any other expense with respect to their hire, or to the presents made to their chiefs, than such as may be absolutely requisite.

"Mr. Salt will use his utmost exertion to reach the Court of Gondar, and deliver his Ma-

jesty's letters and presents to the Emperor of Abyssinia in person; but if difficulties should occur to prevent his reaching Gondar, Mr. Salt will notify his arrival through the Ras or minister residing there, and will receive that minister's instructions for forwarding of his Majesty's presents to the Emperor of Abyssinia.

"Mr. Salt will use his utmost exertions to ascertain the present state of the Abyssinian trade, the quantity, quality, and value of the Emperor's goods imported, either by the way of India or Mocha; the quantity, quality, and value of the goods imported from India; the different articles exported from Abyssinia by sea; as also the present state of the trade carried on by the means of caravans between Abyssinia and the interior of Africa.

"In all his communications with the Emperor, or Ras, or other ministers, Mr. Salt will express the desire of his Majesty to comply with the wishes of the Emperor, to open a trade between Abyssinia and his Majesty's territories, whether in India or Europe.

"Mr. Salt will endeavour to show the great advantages which attend upon a trade unfettered by vexatious and uncertain duties; and will represent, that European goods should only pay

a duty at the sea-port on their first importation; and that they should afterwards be permitted to pass free into the interior of Africa; and he will point out to them the great advantage which would probably result to them from the increased consumption which this would be likely to produce.

"Mr. Salt will follow the example of Lord Valentia in endeavouring, by every means in his power, to cultivate the friendship of the different tribes on the coast of the Red Sea."

Though Mr. Salt had for some time had strong reason to imagine that he might be the person selected to take charge of the letter and presents designed for the King of Abyssinia, yet, in the dubious state in which he was placed, it would not have been prudent for him to have hazarded the expense of his outfit on an uncertainty, or to have made any serious preparations for his voyage; the arrival therefore of the appointment necessarily occasioned him much hurry and confusion, as the ship of Messrs. Jacob was nearly ready for sea, and was to set sail in the course of ten days or a fortnight. Government, had, however, now advanced him five hundred pounds for his outfit, and a some-

what larger sum for expenses on his arrival in the Red Sea, out of which he was advanced five hundred pounds more for the purchase of dollars.*

Activity and promptitude were now required to get everything prepared for the expedition, and in these respects he never failed when immediately called upon for exertion. He was obliged, however, to leave a part of his Journal unfinished, and was under the necessity of delegating to another hand the care of finally correcting his manuscript, and of superintending it in the press. One or two of his large drawings, too, were left incomplete, but they were subsequently prepared for the engraver by a very accomplished artist and friend. With these exceptions he contrived to get everything necessary for his mission purchased and arranged in

* His passage both going and coming was also defrayed by Government; but all question of remuneration was left till his return. It was, however, very unfortunate, as will be seen hereafter, that he was restricted to come back by the same vessel which carried him out, and which he had no power of detaining in the event of his not being able, from adverse circumstances, to proceed on his arrival directly to Gondar, without incurring an expense, private or public, which it would in either case have been the height of imprudence in him to have hazarded.

the short period that intervened between his appointment and departure.

On the 16th of January Lord Valentia, agreeably to the direction of Mr. Canning, officially delivered his Majesty's letter and presents, and the memorandum of instructions, to the care of Mr. Salt, and on the 20th the latter embarked at Portsmouth, on board Messrs. Jacob's ship, Marian (Captain Weatherhead). The presents chiefly consisted of arms made after the Abyssinian fashion, but ornamented with gold and jewels, some of the finer manufactures of Britain, and two pieces of curricle artillery, with fifty rounds of ball and a quantity of powder.

The suddenness of Mr. Salt's departure allowed him very little leisure to take leave of many of his relatives and friends. He and I, however, were necessarily a good deal together, and he dined with me alone the last evening but one before he left London, when a somewhat remarkable circumstance occurred between us, which I shall here narrate, in order to show how cautious we should be of giving too implicit faith to relations of supernatural agency, which probably, if thoroughly investigated, might generally be traced to nothing more than a singular coincidence of events. In the present instance

the tale does not exactly correspond in all its parts with its final result, but it approached so very nearly to reality, at the time it occurred, as to shake my accustomed opinion on the subject.

On the occasion above alluded to, Salt and I were neither of us, as may be imagined, in the most lively mood. Our conversation naturally turned on the dangers he had encountered in his former adventures, and on those to which he was, in all human probability, about to be exposed. The possibility of our not meeting again in this life suggested to us both a train of melancholy thoughts, and insensibly we fell into an earnest discourse respecting the land of spirits, and on the possibility of the departed being permitted to revisit those whom they had loved on earth. This was rather a favourite topic with Salt, and one upon which, as I have before observed, he entertained very strong notions. My own opinions in these respects did not coincide with his, but, after a long conversation on the subject, it was at length proposed by one of us, and consented to by both, that we should draw up and sign a written paper, couched, as nearly as I can remember, in the following words :—

"It is hereby mutually promised by the undersigned, that, in case of the death of either of the parties, the spirit of the deceased one shall, if permitted, visit the survivor, and relate what he may be able to impart of his situation.

"Signed, SALT,
HALLS."

This paper was consigned to my care, as the person least liable to accident. I placed it under other writings in my desk, and for a time thought no more of it. But, when his protracted absence on the voyage began to excite uneasiness with respect to his safety, the circumstance recurred to my memory, and occasioned me some degree of disquietude. At length, when he reached England, without accident, in 1811, I spoke to him on the subject, and observed, that I thought we had done an indiscreet, if not a presumptuous act. He agreed with me in this notion, and the paper was produced and burnt.* The subject was never again

* Anything like presumption in the above transaction was certainly very far removed from the intention of either of us; what occurred arose simply from the friendly warmth of the moment, and an over-anxious desire, not perhaps uncommon, to learn each other's destiny. In perusing

alluded to, nor do I recollect that I ever thought of it again till a long time after he had gone out as Consul-general in Egypt; but at this period, though I had received no intelligence that could tend to call him to my remembrance, nor to induce me to recollect our former compact, I experienced an apparent vision, of so vivid a nature, that, though convinced of its fallaciousness, I can scarcely, even now, persuade myself that it was an illusion.

I fancied then that I was lying awake in my bed-room reflecting upon events with which Salt was in no respect connected. It was broad daylight, and I saw everything in the apartment most distinctly, when a figure glided by the foot of the bed, undrew the curtains, on the side next the window, and Salt stood before me. He took my hand in his, which felt cold and lifeless, and looked earnestly in my face. His countenance was calm, but appeared deadly pale; and there was a bloated and unearthly look about it, that at once convinced me he was

Mr. Knowles' "Life of the late Mr. Fuseli," I met with the account of a nearly similar promise, made between the latter and Lavater, though they did not carry the matter quite so far as to put it into writing. The accomplished and pious Bishop Heber also, by the following extract of

no more. I felt awed, but not alarmed, and exclaimed, "Salt, you are not among the living?" He shook his head mournfully, which was his habit on any melancholy occasion, and replied, "I have come to you according to our promise." I then asked, "How is it with you?" He answered, "Better than might have been expected." He again pressed my hand, fixed his eyes steadfastly upon me, and his image faded from my view.

I instantly sprang from my bed, and ran to my watch. It was exactly five minutes past five, and the morning was the fifth of May. I took up a pencil, and wrote, on a piece of paper that lay on the table, the hour and the date. I then examined the room and the door, which I found fast locked, according to my usual habit,

his letter to Miss Stowe, on the death of her brother, appears to admit the possibility of the invisible, if not the visible agency of departed spirits:

"One more consideration I cannot help addressing to you, though it belongs to a subject wrapped up in impenetrable darkness. A little before your poor brother ceased to speak at all, and after his mind had been for some time wandering, he asked me, in a half-whisper, 'Shall I see my sister to-night?' I could not help answering, though in a different sense, perhaps, from that in which he meant the question, that I thought it possible. I know not, indeed who can know, whether the spirits of the just are ever per-

on the inside; and, having satisfied myself no one could have entered, I returned to my bed, and, in spite of the perturbed state of my spirits, fell into an undisturbed sleep.

When I awoke, I began to consider the whole business as a mere dream; but, on going to the table, I found the paper where I had left it. I afterwards mentioned the circumstance to the Earl of Mountnorris, who also took down the date; but I did not think much more of the matter till about six weeks subsequently, when news was brought from Egypt, that after a severe illness Salt had died at about the time the event occurred to me.

The report of his death, however, proved groundless, though it was perfectly true that at that period he had been so dangerously ill as

mitted to hover over those whom they loved most tenderly, but if such permission be given, (and who can say it is impossible?) then it must greatly increase your brother's present happiness and greatly diminish that painful sense of separation which even the souls of the righteous may be supposed to feel, if he sees you resigned, patient, hopeful, trusting on the same prop which was his refuge in the hour of dread, and that good Providence to whose care he fervently and faithfully committed you."—*Vide* Bishop Heber's Narrative in India, vol. iii. p. 311, Correspondence, July 1824.—E.

to be given over. It is almost needless to add, that he did not die till about eight years afterwards; but I confess, had his death happened at the time of the event, it would have gone far towards establishing the belief, in a mind certainly not superstitious, of the existence of a supernatural agency; yet, under all the circumstances of the case, how very possible was it, that the apparent vision might have exactly tallied with the reality, and yet nothing miraculous have occurred.

The evening before Salt set off in 1809, I dined with him at the house of a mutual friend, and at night he walked home with me to my own door. At this moment of trial my fortitude deserted me. He said everything he could to console me; but his efforts proving fruitless, he knocked at the door, and holding his hands over me, and ejaculating some words, the sense of which escaped me, he rushed from my presence. Years of vicissitude have since passed over me, but never can I forget those few short painful moments of my existence.

The next morning he proceeded to Portsmouth, and, on the 23rd of January, set sail on his mission, in company with an East Indian fleet, under convoy of his Majesty's ship Clo-

rinde; but they had scarcely got out of the harbour, when a violent storm came on, which compelled them to lie to, and finally obliged the Marian to return to St. Helen's on the 27th. The next day she fortunately was carried to the Motherbank, as on the 31st a perfect hurricane came on, which drove fifteen vessels on shore in the harbour.

An account of this very unpropitious commencement of his voyage is given in a letter from him, dated Portsmouth 1809, to Lord Valentia.

"My dear Lord,

"It is with great happiness that I inform you of our safe return at this place, after having been five days at sea beating about in very heavy gales. As you will see by the newspapers that many accidents have happened in this period, I conceive you must have felt some anxiety about us—and certainly not without good reason; for we had not left Portsmouth above twelve hours, when the wind came on with very heavy gales from the south, and nearly ran the fleet on the Caskets, over on the French coast. On the morning of Monday two of the Indiamen had parted convoy, and what

became of them we do not yet know. The rest managed to keep within hearing of each other till Wednesday, beating off Torbay and Portland roads, with the weather, however, so boisterous, as to prevent our returning near the coast.

" On the evening of that day we lost sight of the fleet, and, after a deceitful calm of a few hours, it came on to blow so tremendously, that the captain judged it advisable to make the best of his way back. After lying to all night we ran before the wind, and most fortunately reached the roads about five o'clock last night. Considering the severity of the gales, we have been particularly lucky in meeting with no accident on board, except the loss of sundry ducks, fowls, &c. and the fracture of one arm, which, however, did not occasion much pain to the sufferer, nor any great trouble to the doctor, as the accident occurred to no other than the figure Marian at our ship's head. Indeed, we have the highest reason to be satisfied with our vessel; she is a tight sea-boat, and weathered it most stoutly. The officers on board are also good seamen, and very accommodating and attentive to us all. Poor Smith has suffered most dreadfully, being quite as bad as I was on my first voyage. As to me, I never bore it so well before, having

been sick only in a trifling degree without headache, or other suffering. Coffin, as usual, is quite well; yet we have had a most dreadful time of it, as the wind has unceasingly, during the nights, been so violent as to prevent our carrying more than a stay-sail, and with a very heavy sea. One India ship is come in, in a most mangled condition, having lost two of her masts, and beat in her quarter-galleries, with other mischief. Two others have lost their topmasts, and some are yet missing. Pray let me have the pleasure of hearing from you. Kind regards to Halls.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

"Yours most truly,

"H. SALT."

"To Viscount Valentia."

The boisterous weather continuing, with every appearance that it was set in for some time, the captain informed Mr. Salt that he might return to London till he heard from him, as in all probability the ship could not sail for several weeks.

I was sitting at breakfast alone one morning, imagining that he was far on his route to the Madeiras, when suddenly I heard a quick loud step coming up the stairs, and in an instant the door opened, and to my astonishment Salt en-

tered the room. "It is not my ghost yet, Halls!" he exclaimed, as he shook me heartily by the hand, "though I have narrowly escaped shipwreck."

There are moments of unalloyed happiness in this life, that seem, at the time, to outweigh years of discomfort and sorrow, and this was one of them. We thought not then of the perils that still awaited him, nor of the parting which must in a short period again take place, perhaps with increased bitterness; every anxious anticipation of the future being drowned in the present enjoyment. Towards the end of February, he at length received a letter from the captain of the ship, desiring him to return immediately, as the vessel was soon likely to sail. On this occasion he did not go alone, as I, in company with another friend, went down with him to Portsmouth. The weather, however, having become more boisterous than ever, it was impossible for the ship to depart till the season grew more favourable, and the party consequently remained with Salt for several days. The town at this period presented a most distressing and melancholy spectacle. A division of the brave Sir John Moore's army had been just permitted to land, after having been de-

tained six weeks on board the transports, through some unaccountable error in providing quarters for the reception of the soldiers when they should arrive off the coast after their late severe campaign. The poor fellows were seen traversing the streets, in that dreadful weather, without shoes or stockings, and with scarcely clothes to cover them. The officers were hardly to be distinguished from the privates, and all were loud in expressing their indignation at the unnecessary detention on board the transports, which had led to the miserable death of so many of their gallant comrades, even within sight of their own shores.

CHAPTER VII.

Salt's arrival at Madeira.—His Letter to Captain Court.—His reception at the Cape of Good Hope.—Unfortunate occurrence.—Convoy from the Cape.—Arrival at Mozambique.—Salt's sojourn in that Town.—His Correspondence with the Author and others.—Women of the Makooa tribes.—The expedition leaves Mozambique.—Salt's Nautical Journal.—Arrival at Aden.—Description of the Town.—Dangerous Adventure.—Journey to Lahadj.—Sail for Mocha.—Arrival at the Amphili Isles.—Hostile Letter.—Survey of the Bay of Amphili.—Letters from Pearce to Salt, advising him as to the best method of prosecuting his Mission.—An express from Mustapha Aga.—Mr. Coffin despatched onwards.—Sail for Massowa.

THE season still continuing extremely stormy, Salt's friends, after waiting two or three days, in the hope of seeing him safe on board, were now compelled to take their leave of him, and return to London; and it was not till the 2nd of March that he again set sail on his destination with a Brazil convoy, under the direction of Captain Smith, of the Brilliant. On the 15th they reached Funchal, in the island of Madeira, whence he wrote the following letter.

FROM H. SALT, ESQ. TO CAPT. CHARLES COURT.

Madeira, March 14th, 1809.

"My dear Court,

"After the friendship which has subsisted between us, I am sure you will rejoice to hear of the news which I have to communicate, and which indeed you will learn also by the papers, as well as by letters from your brother and Lord Valentia. Through the interest of the latter, I have obtained the command of a mission from the King to Abyssinia, and am entrusted with a letter from his Majesty to the Emperor of that country, with some very valuable presents, among which are two three-pounder brass curricle artillery, with ammunition, carriages, harness, tents, &c. complete. You, my dear friend, who know how much my heart has been bent on benefiting this country, will easily conceive the delight which I feel in being thus employed. May I only prove the instrument of recovering the consequence of this ancient and neglected country, or even of stemming for a season the tide of barbarism that surrounds it, and I shall be completely happy. This I may venture to say to you, whose heart is yet pure, and who feel and know that there is something

in the world above the petty thoughts of money-getting men, though I fear such motives at Bombay would gain but little credit.

"Often, very often, shall I think of you in the old scenes, and wish that you could again partake the pleasure of enjoying the execution of plans which you had so great a share in laying the foundation of. I hope, however, at least, to have the pleasure of hearing from you, since it is probable that you may have the means of communicating with the Red Sea by some of the cruisers; should this fortunately prove the case, pray do not omit to write. Your brother was exceedingly kind to me in London; your sister Lett, too, is a delightful woman; how happy will they be when you can return to enjoy with them the bliss of seeing once more your native country.

"You will be glad to hear that Lord Valentia's work is completed, and will be published in May. My Abyssinian part takes up nearly a volume. You will find that my inscription proved of far more value than I had hoped. I have taken great pains in elucidating it, as also to clear up the ancient history of the country. Dr. Vincent complimented me highly on my success. In fact, you would be surprised to witness

the general interest about Abyssinia. The African Association, through Sir Joseph Banks, has intrusted me with five hundred pounds to make discoveries. The College of Surgeons has solicited me to make a collection of Red Sea productions; but about my commission from Government I can say nothing, except that it is just what I wished. Adieu, and believe me,

"My dear friend,

"Yours most truly,

"H. SALT."

"To Captain Charles Court."

From Madeira they took their departure for the Cape of Good Hope, on the 18th, and anchored in Table Bay on the 20th of May, at noon.

Here, in consequence of the introductions he had procured in England, Salt experienced a highly gratifying reception from the Governor, Lord Caledon, General Grey, and Admiral Bertie, as well as from many agreeable English families resident at the Cape. He also got introduced to several Dutch families of the highest respectability, and was thus enabled to form a tolerably fair estimate of the manner of the place, and particularly of female society, of which

he writes in terms of the strongest commendation. The Dutch seemed generally desirous of cultivating a friendly intercourse with the English, and appeared fully sensible of the advantages the colony had derived from its connexion with the British. Lord Caledon, by his conciliating manners and amiable disposition, had given the highest satisfaction to the most valuable portions of the community. He had considerably improved the judicial department of the settlement, had encouraged agriculture and commerce, and, in general, appeared to have greatly ameliorated the condition of every class of society; nor were his salutary and benevolent purposes confined solely to the more immediate interests of the colony. He became anxious to obtain a knowledge of the interior of Africa, not only from the general interest of the subject, but also from the well-founded expectation that such endeavours might greatly tend to the advantage of the settlement over which he presided. With these views he had selected Mr. Cowan to proceed on a mission to the interior, which at first seemed to promise the fairest prospects of success; that gentleman's earlier despatches having proved of a very favourable nature. He had penetrated farther into the north

than any preceding traveller; had found the country extremely rich and fertile, and the natives peaceably inclined, and by no means, as he imagined, unlikely to open an intercourse with the Cape. These flattering anticipations were, however, unfortunately not to be realised, Mr. Cowan and his party having subsequently, there is every reason to believe, fallen victims to the ignorance and jealousy of some of the barbarous tribes of natives in the interior.

During Mr. Salt's stay at the Cape, an occurrence took place which seemed, at first, likely to bring his mission to a very unpleasant termination. Captain Weatherhead having a part of his cargo to deliver at Cape Town, had been induced, in order to avoid the heavy expenses attendant on the land carriage from Simon's Bay, to run the risk, at the then advanced season of the year, of anchoring the Marian in Table Bay on the 20th of May. The first eight days no inconvenience resulted from the experiment; but on the 29th a furious gale from the north-east arose, with so tremendous a swell setting into Table Bay, as to occasion the ship to strike the ground, and to place it for two hours in the most imminent jeopardy, during which period the rudder was torn from its fastenings, and a

part of the stern stove in. Lights were immediately hoisted by the people on board, and signal guns of distress fired; when the captain, who happened to be on shore, Mr. Coffin, and two captains of merchantmen, who volunteered their services, succeeded in launching a boat, and getting her off to the ship in time to prevent farther mischief.

The anxious state of Mr. Salt during this distressing occurrence may be readily imagined, though it ultimately appears to have turned out to the advantage of his mission, as the delay it occasioned enabled him to obtain a convoy for the Marian as far as Mosambique, a quarter at that period much infested by French privateers.

On his applying to Admiral Bertie upon the subject, the idea of sending a convoy happened to coincide with some other important views entertained by that officer, connected with the same quarter; and he accordingly appointed the Racehorse and Staunch, brigs of war, (Captains Fisher and Street,) to the service. The former (Captain Fisher) obligingly offered Mr. Salt a passage on board his vessel, which was gladly accepted. The three ships left Simon's Bay the 27th of July on their destination.

On the 15th of August they made land be-

tween Capes Corrientes and St. Sebastian; but the season being far advanced, and the weather unsettled, Captain Fisher, to save time, despatched the Staunch and the Marian on the 16th direct to Mosambique, while he, with Mr. Salt on board, proceeded in the Racehorse, with the view of visiting Sofala. The account given by Mr. Salt of his voyage to Mosambique, is interesting, and appears to contain several nautical observations worthy of attention. On the 25th the Racehorse anchored off the above town, where, to the surprise of the party, they found that the Staunch and Marian had not yet arrived; the two ships, however, came into the harbour on the following day.

During their residence at this place, Mr. Salt and his friends experienced the most gratifying reception from the Governor, who appears to have been a man of liberal feelings and character, and very anxious to facilitate the views of the party, and render its stay agreeable. Soon after his arrival, Mr. Salt was invited to spend some time at the Governor's country-house, at the village of Mesuril, which afforded him an opportunity of visiting several parts of the Peninsula, and of acquiring some interesting information respecting the native tribes, as to their

habits, customs, and origin. He also seems to have employed himself very diligently, during his stay at Mosambique, in gaining an insight into the history, commerce, and actual situation of this and other Portuguese settlements in the neighbourhood; the whole account of which forms one of the most entertaining and instructive portions of his last work.

The description he gives of the manner in which the detestable traffic in slaves is carried on in these parts, is afflicting to humanity; while the strong language in which he reprobates the disgraceful practice, reflects high credit on the goodness of his heart and disposition. "If," he observes, after giving an account of a miserable young female slave who had just been brought from the interior, "there still be a sceptic, who hesitates to approve of the abolition of the slave trade, let him visit one of these African slave-yards a short time before a cargo of these wretched beings is exported, and if he have a spark of humanity left, it will surely strike conviction to his mind." (p. 34.) Alas! had the writer of the above passage lived even till the present period, I fear sad experience would have convinced him how little reliance can be placed on the strongest appeals to the

kindlier feelings of our nature, when opposed to prejudice, self-interest, and the hardening influence of habitual injustice.

As the ship in which Mr. Salt sailed from England had part of its cargo to dispose of at Mosambique, the captain opened a store for the purposes of sale, but met with little success, except in the articles of iron-bars and gunpowder, the whole of which were purchased by the Government. These transactions, however, necessarily occupied some time, so that it was not till the 16th of September that the ship was able to depart. The day before he set sail, Salt wrote the two following short letters, which were, I believe, the only ones received from him in England in the course of the expedition.

"Mosambique, 15th September, 1809.

"My dear Lord,

"As this letter may probably not reach you, I cannot venture to say more than that I arrived safe at this port on the 25th of August, since which time we have remained here in consequence of Captain Weatherhead finding a market for several of the articles on board. The attentions paid me by the Portuguese Governor here have been very flattering, and, as far as

he had it in his power, he has given me every information relative to the coast. This was in consequence of letters from Lord Caledon, of whose mission, however, I am sorry to say nothing has yet been heard.

"We leave this to-morrow for the Red Sea. The wind is favourable, and Bruce's anomalous monsoon proves to be a phantasy of his own brain. I hope to be able to write to you by way of Bombay. With kind remembrance to all friends, I remain,

"My Lord,

"Yours most faithfully,

"HENRY SALT.

"To the Viscount Valentia."

FROM THE SAME TO J. J. HALLS, ESQ.

"Mosambique, 15th September, 1809.

"DEAR HALLS,

"You will hear with pleasure of my safe arrival at this place. I have been here nearly three weeks, in consequence of the captain having part of his cargo to dispose of. During this time I have been living on shore with the Governor, by whom I have had every opportunity given me of obtaining information; but, unfortunately, the Portuguese here are a people

so given to the search after gain, that they think of little except how to make the most of their slaves; and from slave dealers what can be expected?—yet to know this is something. To-morrow we set sail for the Red Sea. I shall be able, I expect, to write by way of Bombay. The inclosed I request you to forward. I would not trust it to any one in the world but yourself. * * * The female race here are insupportably black and dirty, besides their upper lips protruding, and on them is impressed a beauty spot. It is the first time I have ever been disgusted. God bless you and all friends!

"Believe me most affectionately,

"Yours,

"H. SALT."

This very ungallant description of the women of the Makooa tribes appears to be fully justified by what he mentions respecting them in several parts of his work. In their general appearance they bear a close affinity to the Hottentot females; but, as if dissatisfied with the share of deformity bestowed upon them by nature, they seem anxious to increase it by having recourse to artificial modes of rendering their persons still more odious and disgusting. In

short he observes, "it is scarcely possible to conceive a more disagreeable object to look at than a middle-aged woman belonging to this tribe of natives."

This interesting panegyric does not include the ladies of the settlement, who are kept so secluded that it is extremely difficult to obtain even a sight of them; a circumstance which appears to have been a great drawback upon the interest, as well as the pleasure, of the entertainments to which Mr. Salt was invited by the Governor, and other principal inhabitants of the place.

On the 16th of September the Marian sailed alone from Mosambique at daybreak, on its destination, her convoy having left soon after her arrival at the above place; and as the passage thence to the Red Sea was little known, Mr. Salt gives a regular nautical journal of his voyage as far as Aden, taking particular care to mark the variation of the compass, in consequence of the existence of similar observations made on the same coast as early as the year 1620, and in order that any difference that may exist between the two accounts may on comparison be ascertained; but as these observations, from their nature, can be of no great interest to

the general reader, it will be best to proceed at once to Aden, where Mr. Salt arrived on the 3rd of October. Soon after coming to anchor, Mr. Coffin, the supercargo, went on shore, and returned in the evening, with the satisfactory intelligence that Captain Rudland was stationed at Mocha as agent to the East India Company. The next morning the Banians sent down several animals to convey Mr. Salt, &c. to the town, where they were well received by the Banians, who had fitted up a house for their reception, belonging to Mr. Benzoni, with whom Mr. Salt had been acquainted in his former visit to the Red Sea, and who had since, from his able and judicious conduct, been appointed assistant to Captain Rudland, at Mocha.

Aden is still, it appears, as a place of trade, of some consequence, but the town itself is a wretched heap of ruins and miserable huts, which none, except the lowest Arabs, would think of inhabiting. The natives appear squalid and unhealthy, and the lower classes are as depraved in their habits as those in most Arabian towns. Among the ruins some fine remains of ancient splendour are to be met with, which form a melancholy contrast to the general desolation of the scene.

During his stay at this place, Mr. Salt made several excursions in the neighbourhood, in the hope of meeting with some interesting antiquities; and on one of these occasions he was unconsciously led into a situation of danger that might at once have terminated his career. It appears that Aden, on the northern and western sides, is protected by a steep craggy mountain, on the pinnacles of which stood several ancient Turkish towers, which Mr. Salt took the fancy of visiting and examining. With this view he started on the 6th of October to ascend the mountain, taking with him a guide and several of his companions. The road was steep, and presented many difficulties, which all were at first able to surmount, till at length they arrived at a spot where the ascent became so abrupt, that the guide declared it inaccessible. They however persisted in advancing till they reached one of the highest ridges of the mountain, so narrow along the top, as to present, on both sides, the terrific aspect of a perpendicular abyss.

Here his companions, though at no great distance from the object of their pursuit, gave up the adventure, and sat down on the rock, leaving Salt to pursue his journey alone. With

great difficulty he at length reached the tower, and, being animated with the hope of meeting with some inscriptions, succeeded in getting into it by clinging with his arm round an angle of the wall, where, supported by one loose stone, he had to pass over a perpendicular precipice of many hundred feet, down which it was impossible to look without shuddering. Having encountered all this danger, he was mortified to find that he gained no other reward for his exertions than the sight of the magnificent view that lay extended beneath him, and the gratification he experienced at having achieved an enterprise which his less adventurous companions had relinquished.

These sensations were, however, somewhat damped, now that the enthusiasm of the moment had subsided, and the necessity of retracing his steps became apparent. A feeling of hesitation stole over his mind, which, in a few moments, would have disabled him for the undertaking, had not the urgency of the case compelled him to make one desperate effort, which fortunately enabled him to surmount the difficulties of the situation into which he had unwarily drawn himself. Nothing can be more characteristic of the natural structure of Salt's

mind than the whole of this incident. Whenever he had any great object to accomplish, he seldom stopped to consider the difficulties or the dangers by which his progress might be impeded. The excitement of the moment seemed to supply the place of deliberate calculation, and enabled him to surmount obstacles from which a less enthusiastic, though equally courageous spirit, might possibly have recoiled; but when the trial was past, and his mind had regained its wanted equilibrium, he looked back with a feeling of dismay at the perils he had encountered, when the former stimulus to active exertion no longer remained.

While the ship was completing her stock of water at Aden, Mr. Salt, with his accustomed activity, determined to take a journey to Lahadj, the residence and capital of the Sultaun. With this view, on the 8th of October, he and several of his friends set out on the expedition, accompanied by a Banian, and under the immediate protection of Aboo Buckr, the Dola of Aden, who had been appointed by the Sultaun to attend the party, with a guard of his ascari. During their route, the travellers met with several curious and interesting remains of former ages, particularly a causeway that joins the

peninsula, or rather island of Aden, to the continent, and an ancient aqueduct, probably built by the Turks, in order to render the town independent of the Arabs for its supply of water. At the end of the plain, over which this aqueduct is conducted, they arrived at a tomb and caravanserai, dedicated to Sheik Othman. Here the party halted and regaled themselves, and at three o'clock resumed their journey through a deep and spreading wood, till they arrived at a barren sandy plain, which, though of comparatively small extent, presented in a lively manner the image of a "desert that might be fatal to man and beast."

When they had crossed this desolate spot, they gradually arrived at a highly rich and cultivated tract of land, bordering on the town of Lahadj, which place they entered a short time afterwards, and were met by a deputation, headed by the Dola of the place, who conducted them to the Sultaun's presence. He was an old man, of a very patriarchal appearance, with a countenance expressive of intelligence and benignity. He gave the strangers a most welcome reception, expressing, at the same time, great delight at having once more beheld an Englishman. Mr. Salt speaks highly of the Sultaun's manner

of administering the affairs of the town and neighbouring districts, though the account of the place itself is not very prepossessing.

On the evening of the 9th the party took leave, and returned on the route to Aden as far as the caravanserai of Sheik Othman, where the night was passed in a somewhat disagreeable manner, owing to the small size of the building. The next morning, at daybreak, the journey was resumed to Aden, which they soon reached, having witnessed on the way, about sunrise, some remarkable effects from refraction, which are particularly described.

In the evening Mr. Salt returned on board, and the Marian the following day, October 11th, set sail from the port with a fair wind, and anchored in Mocha roads on the afternoon of the 13th. Mr. Salt was immediately invited on shore by Captain Rudland, and in the evening took up his abode at the British factory. After consulting with the latter gentleman, his first care was to obtain some communication with the Ras Welled Selassé and Mr. Pearce; and accordingly a trusty servant, named Hadjee Alli, was sent with letters to Abyssinia, announcing Mr. Salt's arrival with his Majesty's letters and presents for the Emperor, and expressing a wish

to advance to the presence of the latter as soon as possible, at the same time requesting that a proper number of mules and people might be sent down with Mr. Pearce to whatever point of the coast it might be judged most advisable for him, Mr. Salt, to land.

This dispatch was sent off on the 14th of October, and Mr. Salt determined to remain at Mocha till an answer was returned, though the affairs of Yemen were then so precarious and unsettled as to render a residence at that town far from agreeable. The whole of November, however, having passed away without any intelligence of the messenger sent to the Ras, except a report that the master of the boat in which he had sailed had been imprisoned by the Nayib of Massowa, Mr. Salt began to feel rather impatient and alarmed, and resolved to pass over, at all hazards, to the African coast, and enter Abyssinia by Amphila instead of by Massowa. With this view he went directly on board the Marian, and set sail from Mocha Roads December 8th for the opposite shore, where she anchored off the village of Ayth. Here Mr. Salt learned that the gelve sent from Mocha still remained at Amphila, that Yunus Beralli, the boatman, had died, as it was believed, by poison,

and that, owing to the interference of the Nayib, no intercourse had been obtained with the Ras. The death of this faithful Somauli gave Mr. Salt much concern, for he had been of great service in the former expedition, and his gratitude for a few slight favours since conferred, had proved the strength of his attachment.

On the 11th the ship reached the Amphila Isles. A boat was sent on shore, which brought back the messenger, Hadjee Alli, in the evening, who gave a most pitiable account of the disasters that had befallen him. He said he had gone one day's journey on his route to Abyssinia when a letter arrived from the Nayib Idris, and the Turkish Aga stationed at Massowa, addressed to the chiefs of the country, and directing them, in the event of any English property being brought into their towns or districts, to seize it and divide it among themselves, and "*to kill the persons in charge of it.*" The receipt of this letter occasioned much altercation and alarm throughout the country of the Dumhoeta, and rendered it impossible for the Hadjee to proceed to the Ras, at least so he reported, though it afterwards appeared it was merely his own fears that had made him give up the journey. Alli Govéta, the chief of the district, still

remained friendly to the English, and by no means felt disposed to obey the treacherous orders of the Nayib.

Though the hostile tone of the above letter did not surprise Mr. Salt, yet it gave him considerable uneasiness, as it might prevent his carrying the two cannon into the country, and perhaps stop his advance altogether, if compelled to go by Massowa. The failure, too, in opening a communication with the Ras, was highly vexatious, as it had caused much delay. Thus situated, Mr. Salt dispatched a letter to Alli Govéta, requesting a conference on the subject of the Abyssinian journey, and inclosing two letters for him to forward to the Ras and Pearce. This dispatch, however, turned out in some degree unnecessary, by the arrival, on the 14th of December, of a young chieftain, named Alli Manda, who offered to convey any letters safely with which he was entrusted. Mr. Salt accordingly prepared a letter for the Ras, at the top of which he drew an Abyssinian cross and some characters, and confided it to the chief's care, together with the letters formerly sent from Mocha. The young man then departed, taking with him Hadjee Belal as a witness of his proceedings. The latter, however, subsequently

proved unequal to the undertaking, and returned in a few days, declaring that the young chieftain travelled night and day, "like a dromedary," so that he could in no way manage to keep up with him.

While awaiting the return of Alli Manda, Mr. Salt, in conjunction with Captain Weatherhead, was employed in taking a survey of the bay of Amphila, and its islands and shoals, the result of which enabled him to lay down a chart, inserted in his work, which bears the stamp of great accuracy and research. While he was engaged in this occupation, Alli Govéta and some of his tribe paid Mr. Salt a visit, and as the latter had by this time nearly determined on entering Abyssinia by Buré, he opened some negotiations with that chieftain, in order to ensure for himself and followers a safe passage through the districts under his government. The usual difficulties as to presents and payments were at first started, in the true Eastern spirit of extortion. But at length matters seemed likely to be amicably arranged; promises of mutual friendship were exchanged, and both parties only waited the return of Alli Manda from the Ras, to commence preparations for the journey.

At length, January 6th, 1810, he arrived with

a packet of letters from Pearce, strongly recommending Mr. Salt to enter the country by way of Massowa, and by no means to think of attempting the impracticable road by Buré, which was neither safe for goods nor persons. It however appears, that after the first letter was written, some difference of opinion existed between Pearce and the Ras on the occasion; in consequence of which the former wrote another letter, of the same date, in which he warns Mr. Salt against Alli Manda, but adds, if he, Mr. Salt, was "determined" to come by Buré, he would second his views to the best of his power, though still adverse to the attempt being made.

The contents of these letters Mr. Salt, of course, kept secret from the chiefs, with whom he had been in treaty, and contented himself with telling them that everything had turned out satisfactorily. In his own mind, however, he acknowledges he experienced a good deal of uneasiness and hesitation as to the choice of his route. The decided hostility of the Nayib seemed to render the passage by Massowa nearly impracticable, while the warning he had received from Pearce, a man of tried courage and experience, appeared equally to forbid his

endangering the safety of his important charge by placing it at the mercy of the barbarous and rapacious tribes through whose districts he must necessarily pass before he could be joined by the forces of the Ras.

From this state of doubt and anxiety he was fortunately relieved on the 10th of January by the arrival of a gelve, sent express from Massowa, which brought the intelligence that Omar Aga had been removed from that place, and had been succeeded by Mustapha Aga, who on his arrival disclaimed the acts of his predecessor, and immediately dispatched the above vessel to Mr. Salt, assuring him of his friendship for the English, and of his wish to promote their views. He also forwarded a packet of letters from Captain Rudland, and sent a present of goats and fowls to the care of the Dola of Dahalac, who was known to be much attached to the English.

These circumstances, and the perusal of Captain Rudland's dispatches, determined Mr. Salt's proceedings, and he finally resolved to go to Massowa, as soon as he could dispatch Mr. Coffin to the Ras, and should learn that the former had passed the borders in safety. He accordingly wrote a letter to Pearce, desiring him to set out immediately on its receipt, with

the Ras' people, for Massowa, where Mr. Salt engaged to meet him in fourteen days. After a long conference with Alli Govéta, it was agreed that Coffin should depart at midnight, with Alli Manda, accompanied by an Arab "sais" well versed in the Dankali language, a young Somauli, and ten young men belonging to Alli Govéta, to guard the party through the country.

In order to ensure Mr. Coffin's safety on the road, Mr. Salt was under the unpleasant necessity of dissembling with the Dûmhoeta chiefs, and of leaving them to suppose he still intended to pass through their territory; but having learned on the 17th that Mr. Coffin had reached the Ras' dominions, he no longer delayed acquainting Alli Govéta with his altered intentions. This at first seemed to occasion much disappointment, but, on Mr. Salt stating his reasons to the chief for his going to Massowa, he acknowledged they had great weight, more especially after he was informed that he was to receive the sum of money originally agreed on for a passage through his country. Upon the whole, the conference appears to have terminated to the satisfaction of both parties, though, from some circumstances attending his journey with Alli Manda, that have been subsequently

related to me by Mr. Coffin, I feel very much inclined to doubt the friendliness and sincerity which Mr. Salt seems disposed to attribute to the chiefs of the Dumhoeta.

The 23rd of January Mr. Salt took leave of Alli Govéta, and sailed from the bay of Amphila for Massowa. His general remarks upon the former place, with respect to its islands, coast, and inhabitants, are extremely interesting.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival at Massowa.—Joined by Coffin and Pearce.—Present from Mustapha Aga.—Interview with the Kaimakan.—A private Conference.—Join the Cafila for Abyssinia.—Scenery and Incidents on the Route.—The Galla Ox.—Arrival of the Mission at Chelicut.—Reception by the Ras.—Delivery of his Britannic Majesty's presents.—Character of the Ras as a Prince.—A learned Abyssinian's opinion of Mr. Bruce, the traveller.—Leave Chelicut on a tour.—Reach Agora.—Journey resumed.—Hippopotami.—Crocodiles.—Salt rejoined by Pearce.—Return to Chelicut.

On the 10th of February, after touching at several places in the way, the Marian reached the harbour of Massowa in safety. The fort was saluted with three guns, and immediately after Mr. Salt had the gratification of seeing Mr. Coffin and a party of Abyssinians standing on the pier. A boat was directly sent on shore, to the great joy of himself and friends, which soon brought Coffin, Pearce, and a young Abyssinian chief, named Ayto Debib, on board. This

young man had been noticed by Mr. Salt, in his former visit, as a person of considerable talents and of an amiable disposition, and his good opinion of him was raised much higher when he learned the faithful attachment he had shown to Pearce in every difficulty to which he had been exposed. He had on this occasion been sent down expressly by the Ras to attend Mr. Salt, and to provide everything necessary on the journey.

The day after the arrival of the Marian in the harbour, a messenger was sent from the Kaimakan, Mustapha Aga, with a present, consisting of two bullocks and fifteen sheep, accompanied by a request that Mr. Salt would fix his first visit to him for the following day. Accordingly, on the 12th he left the ship and proceeded to the shore, under a salute of thirteen guns from the Marian, and was immediately conducted to the Divan. He found the Kaimakan, a respectable-looking Turk, with somewhat of dignity in his manners, sitting in a retired corner, which had formerly been occupied by the Nayib. The Kaimakan received Mr. Salt very ceremoniously, ordered sherbet, asked the customary questions with all the haughtiness of the Grand Seignor himself, and then presented him with a kaftan,

lined with ermine. All this, passing in a wretched apartment, with a low ceiling and a mud floor, in the midst of a dirty and half-naked rabble, produced so incongruous and ridiculous an effect that it was with the greatest difficulty Mr. Salt could maintain his gravity. During this audience, he observed that the Nayib and his son kept completely in the back-ground; they paid their compliments at a distance, and looked anxious to converse with him, but were restrained by the presence of their superior chief.

The next day the Kaimakan sent to request a private conference; and on this occasion his manner was extremely different from the one he had assumed on the preceding day. He conversed with much friendliness, and appeared to throw off all the restraint and distance he had practised at the former meeting; indeed, his whole deportment was so very satisfactory and conciliating, as to excite in Mr. Salt's mind some suspicions of its sincerity. These apprehensions, however, in the end, proved groundless, for, with the exception of a few *Eastern* attempts at extortion, all the necessary arrangements for transporting the presents, &c. to Abyssinia, appear to have been conducted, on his part, in an expeditious and amicable manner.

On the 20th the cafila from Abyssinia, which had been long expected, came down under the care of Hadjee Hamood, consisting of thirty-five mules and sixty bearers. As the means of supplying so large a party might have proved very difficult on this coast, the utmost dispatch became necessary, and great exertion was used to get everything in readiness for an immediate departure. It was not, however, without much trouble and vexation that matters were finally arranged by the 22nd, when Mr. Salt formally delivered the whole of the packages in charge to Ayto Debib and Hadjee Hamood. On the 23rd the Ras' people left the coast for Arkeeko, whither Mr. Salt followed them in the course of a few hours.

After having taken leave of the Kaimakan, and paid a visit to the Nayib, Mr. Salt departed immediately for Arkeeko. From this dreadful place, where he was compelled to submit to numberless extortions, he at length got clear, with a feeling of pleasure, somewhat similar, as he expresses it, to that experienced by Gil Blas when he escaped from the robbers' cave. Soon afterwards he had the gratification of mustering the whole of the cafila, about four miles from that almost accursed town;

and about half past five in the afternoon, the whole caravan being assembled, they commenced the journey.

The party which now accompanied Mr. Salt appears to have been the largest that ever left the coast since the time of the Portuguese expeditions in the seventeenth century. It consisted of four Englishmen, three Arabs, and a hundred Abyssinian followers, besides Pearce's and Debib's servants, some country-people who had been hired, three Hazorta chiefs, and about a dozen of the Nayib's rascally camel-drivers.

Of this party, so formidable in numbers, fourteen only were furnished with fire-arms and spears, the rest being armed merely with slings, knives, and short, heavy sticks: which appears singular enough, considering the importance of the charge to be conveyed and protected through districts not always of the most friendly description. On one occasion in particular, near the large town of Lago, the party seemed to be in some danger of an attack from a rebellious chieftain, attended by a considerable force, well armed with matchlocks and spears, though the attempt was ultimately defeated by the good and spirited conduct of Pearce and Debib, and the cool intrepidity of Mr. Salt.

As the route of the present expedition appears to have exactly corresponded with the one pursued on the former occasion, till it reached the mountain that leads to Agamé, it may be as well, in order to avoid repetition, to pass over the events of this part of the journey till the travellers reached Legóte on the 7th of March.

The next morning, at five, they descended from Legóte, and crossed an extensive and well cultivated plain, to the left of which lies the mountain of Devra Damo, which, in the earliest periods of the Abyssinian history, was used as a place of confinement for the younger branches of the family of the reigning sovereign. The beautiful tale founded on this custom, by Dr. Johnson, had been perused with delight by Salt in his younger days, and, being himself a native of Lichfield, he had from his childhood been accustomed to regard with a species of veneration his celebrated townsman. It may therefore readily be imagined with what pleasure and satisfaction he visited this and other scenes in Ethiopia, so intimately associated with many of his earlier impressions. The Mountain of Devra Damo is described as being "completely scarped" on every side, with only one path leading up to it, bearing in this, as well as in other

respects, a striking resemblance to many of the hill-forts in India.

After Mr. Salt had made a sketch of this interesting scene, they proceeded on their route by a pass called Kella, till they reached the house of Ayto Nobilis, by whom they were entertained with great hospitality. On the 9th of March they quitted their kind host, and held their course across a fertile valley towards a range of hills lying to the south, leaving the mountains of Adowa about twelve miles on the right. Of the latter Mr. Salt has given an accurate view, which certainly in no respect justifies Mr. Bruce's fanciful description of their appearance. The forms are generally of an Alpine character, but certainly bear no resemblance to "slabs, obelisks, or prisms," and still less to "pyramids pitched upon their points with their base uppermost."

They had not proceeded far on their way before Mr. Salt, Pearce, and Debib were separated by some accident from the rest of the company, when it was determined that they should make a short excursion and pay a visit to Ozoro Asquall, the lady in command of the district, who received them with great attention. She had been married twice against her will.

Her present husband appeared a man of mild and agreeable manners, but of no great ability, and it was amusing to see the air of superiority which she assumed over her submissive spouse, agreeably to the usual practice of most ladies of rank in Abyssinia.

On the following morning the party left the Ozoro's mansion, and followed a southern direction down a highly-cultivated valley. The land appeared to be extremely productive, owing in a great measure to the skilful manner in which it was irrigated. In the course of the morning the rest of the party joined them, and they proceeded altogether to a village at the top of a lofty hill, where they passed the night. Here it was settled, for the convenience of the party, that it should divide, and Mr. Salt, Mr. Smith, and Pearce, proceeded in advance, leaving Debib to follow with the rest by slower marches.

On the following morning, Mr. Salt and his two companions started at daylight, and travelled through a rugged and mountainous district till they came to an extensive plain, which stretches from the hills of Agamé and Haramat, to the river Tacazze; having crossed this plain, they arrived at a pass leading to the same range

of country as the one at Atbara, which brought them at once into the district of Giralta. Here, on arriving at the summit, they encountered a most tremendous thunder-storm, which is described by Mr. Salt with all the vigour and enthusiasm of the genuine admirer of Nature in her most awful visitations.

'The tempest, however, was not of very long continuance, though it unfortunately proved a suitable prelude to the inhospitable treatment they were soon to experience, at the neighbouring town of Mugga, where, but for the humanity of the head priest of the place, they would have absolutely been left without shelter or provisions during the night. Mr. Pearce was so indignant at the reception they had met with, that he obtained permission of Mr. Salt to push forward to the Ras at Chelicut, to acquaint him with the near approach of the party, and with the difficulties they had to encounter. The Ras was excessively enraged on this occasion, and sent a messenger to take the head men of the place in custody. They were subsequently heavily fined by the Ras, and placed at the mercy of Mr. Salt, to have any punishment inflicted on them he might choose to order. As he, however, thought they had suffered enough for their

offence; he interceded with the Ras in their behalf, and obtained forgiveness for them.

It may readily be supposed, after the inhospitable reception he had experienced at Mugga, that Mr. Salt left it with great satisfaction at an early hour the following morning, and proceeded on the route to Gibba, a residence belonging to the Ras, where he and Mr. Smith arrived in the evening. It is described as a beautiful spot, and the party was received with every possible attention by the chief Aristi, or bailiff, left in charge of the estate.

At this place Mr. Salt was first gratified with the sight of that remarkable animal called the Galla Ox, or Sanga, so much celebrated for the size of its horns. Three of these oxen he observed grazing with the other cattle; they were in perfect health, and he was informed by the natives "that in no instance, as Bruce erroneously supposed, was the size of the horns occasioned by disease." It appears, indeed, by the papers annexed to the last edition of Mr. Bruce's work, that he never saw the Sanga, though he has correctly described the horns and the purposes to which they are applied;—but with respect to "the disease which occasions their size, probably derived from their pasture

and climate;" "the care taken of them to encourage the progress of the disease;" "the emaciation of the animal," and the "extending of the disorder to the spine of the neck, which at last becomes callous, so that it is not any longer in the power of the animal to lift its head;"*— these all prove to be merely ingenious conjectures, without the smallest foundation in fact.

Mr. Salt speaks decidedly upon this point, having had an opportunity of ascertaining the truth; the Ras having presented him with three of these animals, which were not only in perfect health, but so exceedingly wild that he was forced to have them shot. The horns of one of them are now in the Museum of the Surgeons' College, and a still larger pair are at Arley Hall. The largest horn of this description which Mr. Salt met with, was nearly four feet in length, and its circumference at the base measured twenty-one inches; yet the animal was not larger than others of the same genus. The female is also amply provided with the above ornament to her forehead.

On the 13th Mr. Pearce returned from Chelicut, charged with many kind expressions from the

* *Vide* Bruce's Travels, vol. vi. pp. 50, 51.

Ras. Another messenger brought a mule richly caparisoned, which was sent for Mr. Salt's own riding, and he gave orders to the Aristi at Gibba to supply the party with every necessary and accommodation. In the afternoon of the 14th Debib, &c. came up with the greater part of the baggage; and the next day the whole mission departed in a body for Chelicut, the place appointed by the Ras for its reception.

At ten o'clock the travellers reached the summit of the hill overlooking that town, and shortly afterwards two chiefs were seen galloping along the plain with a large troop of armed attendants. As soon as the chiefs approached they dismounted, and uncovered themselves to the waist, in honour of the mission. The number of attendants increased every minute, and before Mr. Salt and his friends reached the gateway of the Ras's residence, they had much difficulty in making their way. At length, with a great bustle and confused clamour usual on such occasions, they were ushered into the presence of the Ras.

At their entrance, all the chiefs stood up uncovered, and the old man, who was seated, rose up with eagerness to receive Mr. Salt, like a person suddenly meeting with a long-lost friend. He seated his guest on his left hand, the second

place of distinction, the one on his right being occupied by Kasimaj Yasous, a brother of the reigning sovereign. The Ras did not appear to have been much altered during Mr. Salt's absence; he anxiously inquired after the health of the latter, and declared that he always had felt a kind of presentiment that he should see him once more before he died. A repast was then set before them, and they were afterwards conducted to a house fitted up for their reception, where they enjoyed a degree of comfort to which they had long been strangers; Ayto Debib still continuing to attend on Mr. Salt, to communicate his wishes to the Ras, and to see that he was treated with every possible respect.

In the course of the journey to Chelicut, Mr. Salt had learned with regret from Debib and Pearce, the impracticability of his proceeding to Gondar, owing to the distracted state of the provinces, and the enmity that subsisted between the Ras and a powerful chief named Guxo, who held the command of some districts eastward of the Tacazzé. On the 16th of March Mr. Salt had a long conference with the Ras, on the subject of his mission, and was then informed by him of the absolute impossibility of his under-

taking the journey, unless he could wait till after the rainy season in October was subsided, when he, the Ras, intended to march to Gondar; for that if Mr. Salt were to venture unprotected, the enmity Guxo bore to the Ras would ensure his certain detention, if not probable destruction. In spite of these difficulties Mr. Salt felt inclined to proceed; but on pressing the point, the Ras would not permit it, and it was in vain to contend agains this authority. He was therefore reluctantly compelled to give up the idea of visiting Gondar, as it was out of his power to wait till after the rain, on account of the expense which would have attended the detention of the Marian; and he had unfortunately been positively enjoined to return by that vessel.

Under these circumstances, and in compliance with his instructions, he was obliged to deliver his Majesty's presents to the Ras. The effect they produced upon the Governor of Tigré, and his chiefs may be easily imagined, the former, in particular, would sit for minutes absorbed in silent reflection, and then would break out into exclamations of admiration, like a man bewildered with the fresh ideas that were rushing upon his mind. At this part of his Journal, Mr.

Salt gives a detailed account, which it is unnecessary to repeat here, of the adventures of Pearce, and of the principal events that had occurred in Abyssinia during the absence of the former, more especially as the greater portion of it has recently appeared in another publication.* This narrative, which Mr. Salt received directly from Pearce himself, induced the former to correct the erroneous opinion he had formed on his first visit to the country, respecting the character of the Ras, who, at that period, he imagined owed his high situation "more to cunning than strength of character;" but in this respect Mr. Salt says he was undoubtedly mistaken, as the Ras appears to have been indebted for his elevation more to his intrepidity and firmness than to his policy—he had been engaged in upwards of forty battles, and, on these occasions, had evinced even a blameable disregard of his personal safety.

The whole of his character, indeed, as given by Mr. Salt, justifies the conclusion that he must have been a wise and politic ruler, a bold and skilful commander, and a merciful and excellent man. With so many amiable and distinguished qualities, it seems singular, in respect to his

* *Vide* Pearce's Life.

wives, and to women in general, that he should have been deeply tinctured with a species of Mahomedan jealousy and strictness so extremely foreign to the usual habits and customs of the rest of his countrymen. It is true that in early life he had been a good deal thrown into the society of Mahomedans; yet, as he ever appears to have retained a decided abhorrence of their doctrines, it seems somewhat remarkable that he should have adopted one of the most objectionable parts of their system.

During Mr. Salt's stay at Chelicut he became intimate with a learned man, named Dofter Esther, who had been well acquainted with Mr. Bruce at Gondar during the whole time of his residence in the country. The account he gave Mr. Salt of that traveller is marked by so much fairness and disinterestedness that it is difficult, I should have supposed, for the most sceptical to entertain any real doubt of its veracity. It differs, however, very considerably in some essential points from the statements made in Mr. Bruce's work, and, to use no harsher term, casts great doubt upon the credibility due to many of that traveller's anecdotes and assertions.

Mr. Salt not finding his residence at Chelicut

particularly agreeable during the season of Lent, and being anxious to improve his knowledge of the geography of the country, as well as to ascertain some important points relative to its general history, obtained permission of the Ras to make an excursion to the river Tacazzé. Accordingly, he set out on the 5th of April upon the expedition, accompanied by Pearce, Coffin, Debib, and a young chieftain called Chelika Negusta. This chief held a district in the country through which their road lay, and had been appointed by the Ras to attend them with an escort. He was a young man of courage and enterprise, and the history given of his youthful adventures is interesting and highly characteristic of the manners of the country. After leaving Chelicut Mr. Salt and his party proceeded to Antalo, the capital of Enderta, which stands on the side of a mountain commanding an extensive prospect to the south. Farther on lies the stronghold of El Hadje; and beyond it, on a clear day, may be distinguished the lofty mountains of Salowa and Bora.

The next day they left Antalo, and, passing through a rich country, entered the district of Wazza. After descending two steep precipices, they arrived at a rude and picturesque village

called Cali, in the district of Saharti. On the 7th they quitted this station, and traversed a wild tract of land, which strongly reminded Mr. Salt of the scenery he had formerly so much admired in the interior of the Cape. From this place they first got a sight of the high mountains of Samen, rearing their lofty summits majestically in the distant horizon. The weather now becoming intensely warm, the party stopped by the side of a stream, near the village of Shela, to refresh, where, in the course of his search after rare plants, Mr. Salt discovered some watercresses, to the no small pleasure of Mr. Pearce, who had long searched for them in vain. During their short stay at this spot the party shot no less than six brace of guinea-fowl and partridges, both of which were found in large coveys of fifty or sixty birds, and were occasionally observed to rest on the tops of the trees.

In the afternoon the travellers entered the province of Avergale, and arrived at the town of Agora. Here they took up their residence for the night, at the house of the chief of the district, Guebra Mehedin, who had much distinguished himself about two years before by killing a lion in single combat, with no other

weapon than the common ones worn in the country. At the residence of this chief the party spent a peculiarly agreeable day. Towards the evening the view of the mountains of Samen became truly magnificent, and Mr. Salt sat watching the gradual descent of the sun behind the stupendous forms which those grand masses exhibited, with a melancholy sensation of awe stealing over his mind, which he does not venture to describe, though he could not help feeling that if ever for a moment the frailty of human nature stood excused in offering up adoration to the glorious luminary, it was when he witnessed its setting behind the mountains of Samen.

On the 8th of April they left Agora and proceeded about three miles, when they came to a most picturesque spot near the river Arequa. Here they left their mules and gave up the morning to the pursuit of game of various kinds, which they shot in such numbers as to more than supply the whole party with food for the day. In the afternoon they journeyed on to Werketarvé, inhabited by Agows. In personal appearance these people greatly resemble the Abyssinians, but their language is nevertheless perfectly distinct. They are called Tchertz, or

Tacazzé Agows, and their country extends from Lasta to Shiré. They are said to have been once worshippers of the Nile, but were converted to Christianity so late as the seventeenth century, and are now more attentive to its duties than most of the natives of Habesh. The view from the hill on which the town of Werketarvé is built, was, if possible, more striking than that of the preceding evening. Mr. Salt has given a sketch of it, which conveys some idea of its magnificence.

On the 9th he and his party quitted the town, and in two hours reached Serarwa. Here the country began greatly to change its aspect, and assumed a barren and sandy appearance, not unlike the scenery near the coast. The thermometer stood as high as 88° in the shade, and the sun was nearly vertical; yet, though they were scorched with heat, the mountains that lay before them were covered with large patches of snow, which they could plainly distinguish. In the evening they reached Guftamlo, where, Mr. Pearce being taken ill, it was necessary to leave him behind. In the morning they departed from this place, and travelled over a parched and nearly uncultivated plain, till they came to some irregular hills, so thickly covered with low

trees and brushwood as almost to obstruct their passage, the road being bad, and every bush, &c. covered with formidable thorns.

The party, however, managed to get through without any serious injury, and descended a gully, upon which tamarind and other trees were growing. The fruit of the former furnished a most grateful refreshment after the fatigue of the journey. Descending a little farther, a broad expanse of country opened before them, and they found themselves at a short distance from the banks of the Tacazzé. Mr. Salt immediately ran forward with a kind of natural impulse, and, seating himself on the bank of the stream, was indulging in the reflections which the scene was calculated to inspire, when he was suddenly roused from his reverie by the noise of an hippopotamus rising to the surface of the river, and the cry of his attendants—"Gomari! Gomari!" which soon gave a new turn to his thoughts. The view they obtained of this stupendous creature was only instantaneous, and its action appeared greatly to resemble the rolling of a grampus in the sea. The point on which they stood commanded only a small extent of the river, owing to a bend it takes in this part of its course, and the abruptness of the rocks on the

western bank. Advancing up the line of the stream, they found it interrupted by frequent overfalls, which render it fordable at most seasons of the year; but between these fords deep holes intervene, which, seen from a height, resemble small lochs, or tarns, of almost immeasurable depth, and it is in these places that the gomari chiefly delights.

After the party had proceeded a short distance, several of these animals were observed, when Mr. Salt and his companions took off part of their clothes and crossed the river with their guns, in order to get a more secure and convenient place to attack them than the eastern bank afforded. The stream at this time was about fifty yards across, and the ford nearly three feet deep. The current ran moderately, though both sides of its bed bore evident marks of the tremendous torrents which pour down in the rainy season. Having found a place adapted to their purpose, they stationed themselves on a high overhanging rock, commanding the depth below, and soon saw one of the animals rise to the surface, at about twenty yards' distance, lifting its enormous head out of the water and snorting violently. At this instant three of the party discharged their guns, the contents of

which appeared to strike its forehead, when it turned its head round, made a plunge, and sank down to the bottom, uttering a noise between a grunt and a roar.

At first they supposed they had either killed or seriously wounded the creature, but they soon found that a hippopotamus is not so easily dispatched, as in a short time it rose again, with some caution, close to the spot where it had before appeared. They again discharged their pieces, but with as little effect as at the first shot, and though some of the party continued firing at each hippopotamus as fast as it came to the surface, it seems doubtful whether the least impression was made upon any one of the number. This could only be attributed to leaden balls having been used, which were too soft to enter the impenetrable skulls of these creatures, the marksmen repeatedly observing the balls strike against the heads of the animals. Towards the afternoon, however, they began to grow more wary, merely thrusting their nostrils above the stream, breathing hard and spouting up the water. They seemed to be unable to remain more than six minutes under the river without rising for the purpose of respiration, and it was curious to view the ease with which they

quietly dropped to the bottom, for, the river being very clear, they could be distinctly seen as low as twenty feet beneath the surface. The size of these animals did not appear to exceed sixteen feet in length, and their colour was a dusky brown, like that of the elephant.

While Mr. Salt and his followers were engaged in the above adventure, they saw several enormously large crocodiles, of a greenish colour, occasionally rise at a distance to the surface of the stream. The natives call them Agoos, and appear to stand in more than usual dread of these animals. After the day's excursion the party returned to their encampment under a large tree, where they passed the night. The thermometer had risen in the course of the day to 95° in the shade.

On the following morning they set out on their return, and, turning a little to the northward of their former route, passed through a town called Missada; and in the course of the day they arrived at the village of Adellet, and at evening reached Gorura, where they were treated with great hospitality.

On the 13th Mr. Pearce rejoined them, and having again crossed the Arequa, they proceeded, by Agora and Cali, to Chelicut, where

they arrived the 16th of April. On his return, Mr. Salt was received by the Ras with great cordiality, and the next day he did him the greatest honour he could confer, by paying him a visit at his own house. He remained above an hour, conversing familiarly on different topics, and appeared greatly pleased with some drawings of English buildings, carriages, ships, &c. which Mr. Salt brought forward to amuse him.

CHAPTER IX.

Salt's Conferences with the Ras on the subject of his Mission.—The Ras's Presents at parting.—The Abyssinian Lent.—Grand Feast.—An Accident.—Salt's Presence of Mind.—A public Audience.—The Ras's Dream.—Departure of Salt and his Companions on their Return.—Mr. Stuart.—A singular Disease.—Journey towards the Coast.—An Abyssinian Monastery.—Extraordinary Mountain Scenery.—Nocturnal Attack by a Wild Beast.—Salt and his Party embark in a Dow.—Anchor in Mocha Roads.—Sail for the Cape of Good Hope.—The Vessel disabled.—Its course altered for Bombay.—Arrival in that Harbour.—The Marian repaired.—Again set sail.—Arrival at Penzance in Cornwall.—Results of the Expedition.

THE time now approaching when it became necessary for Mr. Salt to return, he had several long conferences with the Ras upon the subject of the mission, and on other topics, during which the Ras displayed much kindness and openness of character. He fairly told Mr. Salt that he had been counselled by some of the chiefs and priests to prevent the English from entering the country, and by others to entice

the whole party into his districts, and afterwards murder every individual. "But," said the Ras, "I was not fool enough to regard these extravagancies." Speaking of the subject of religion, he farther added:—"We all say this is right, and the other is right, in these matters; but, as Alika Barea (the chief priest) has told me, I believe we shall only wander about in the dark until we receive a lesson from you." He spoke this very earnestly, and shortly after requested Mr. Salt to allow one of the Englishmen attending him to remain behind. From a previous conversation he had had with Mr. Coffin, Mr. Salt was fully aware to whom this request alluded, and as that daring and adventurous man, the history of whose life is scarcely less remarkable than that of Pearce, had expressed a wish to stay in the country, Mr. Salt readily granted the desired permission. At this interview it was also settled that the party should return by way of Axum, Mr. Salt being anxious once again to visit its ruins.

At parting, the Ras presented him with one of his favourite mules, richly caparisoned, and the skin of a black leopard, a very rare article, and only worn by governors of provinces; he also gave him two manuscripts, one containing

the true doctrines of the Abyssinian faith, and the other an account of the Ras's last campaign with the Galla. The former was translated by the Rev. Alexander Murray, for the benefit of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

On the 25th of April, the last day of the Abyssinian Lent, the Ras sent an early message, to inform the party that he was going to Antalo, and to request their company. He also sent three of his favourite horses for their use on the journey, he himself having gone on before. As they approached the village of Afguol, they found him waiting to receive them, attended by about forty of his chiefs on horseback, who were galloping about and skirmishing in their usual manner. After amusing themselves in this way for several hours, the whole party proceeded to Antalo. A repast of fish was served up, for the last time during the season; and as soon as it was over, one of the head priests pronounced a blessing on all who had observed properly the institution of Lent.

The next day a grand brind-feast was given by the Ras, to which Mr. Salt and his companions were invited, and in the course of which the Ras handed his own Brulhé, filled with red wine, to Mr. Salt to drink out of, which was

considered so very singular a favour as to excite great astonishment among the chiefs, many of whom had been purposely invited in order to insure their good behaviour on the return of the mission. The feasting and holiday-making lasted for several days, during which period the Ras received a visit from some chiefs of the Assubo Galla, respecting whom several curious particulars are related.

At one of these festive meetings an accident occurred, which might have proved of serious consequence but for the presence of mind displayed by Mr. Salt. He had, among other things, carried out with him a quantity of fireworks, many of which at different times had afforded much amusement to the Ras and his chiefs, the former taking great delight in lighting the smaller ones himself, and in flinging them among his attendants. On the present occasion the Ras expressed a wish that Pearce should exhibit some of the best of these compositions, and Mr. Salt, without duly considering that the guests were habited in loose flowing cotton garments, selected one of the largest fireworks, labelled "A flowerpot." It was placed in the centre of a room, about thirty feet by sixty, and nearly filled by some of the first chiefs

of the country. As soon as the match was applied to the fuse such a deluge of sparks and fire-balls were showered on the company as to occasion the utmost consternation. Several of the chiefs called out that the destruction they had predicted was come upon them, others crept beneath the couches, and some ran screaming into the corners of the room, while the Ras and a few more resolute kept their seats.

The moment the confusion commenced Mr. Salt sprang from his couch, and placing himself before the Ras with extended arms, kept off the sparks that fell towards him. The Ras, however, showed not the smallest symptom of alarm, but sat smiling at the apprehensions of his followers. His own dress was fortunately one of the few that escaped unsinged, and the shower of sparks gradually subsiding, the face of things took a different turn, the Ras turning the whole affair into ridicule, and unmercifully rallying his followers for the fears they had evinced. He, however, told Mr. Salt apart, that "for the future it would be better to exhibit these things when by themselves." In this manner the affair terminated, though it at first wore a very serious aspect. It afterwards, however, occasioned much merriment, as the Ras's jester, named Totte

Máze, subsequently worked up the transaction into a very diverting representation.

On the 27th of April Mr. Salt had a public audience of the Ras, when a letter, in Ethiopic, was placed in his hands, to be delivered to the King of England or his minister. At the same time the Ras presented him with a gold chain, and a medallion suspended to it (on which the armorial bearings of the Abyssinian emperors were engraved), as the greatest honour he could confer. It was the wish of the Ras that Ayto Debib should return with Mr. Salt, as his envoy to England; but this proposal was declined, as well as an offer of two young lions, designed for a present to his Majesty.

On the 3rd of May, while preparations were making for the departure of the mission, the Ras appeared unusually depressed, and repeatedly inquired of Mr. Salt if he should ever return to the country? On being answered in the negative, the old man related a dream he had had respecting Salt, which had left a strange impression on his mind. "I fancied," said the Ras, "that I was sitting on the brow of a hill, and saw you on the plain below, passing along and sowing grain with both hands, and that the corn sprang up instantaneously around me in great

profusion, while at the same instant I perceived that my lap was filled with gold."

In the night of the 4th of May Mr. Salt and his companions paid their last visit to the Ras. He was much affected, and the parting was painful on both sides. A long conversation took place relative to the mission, during which the Ras repeatedly expressed his gratitude to the King of Great Britain for regarding the welfare of his country, and his anxious wish to encourage an intercourse between the two nations. It was daylight before Mr. Salt and his friends rose to depart, and on this occasion the old man got up from his couch and attended them to his hall-door, where he stood watching them with tears running down his face, until they were out of sight. After leaving the Ras at Antalo, they proceeded to Chelicut, where the preparations were completed for their journey to the coast; and on the 5th of May they set forward on their route to Axum, through the province of Giralta, and descended the steep pass of Atbara, which brought them to the town of Gullibuddā.

Here they expected to have found their old friend Palambaras Tocln, but were informed that he then resided at a country-house, given him by the Ras, at Abba Tsama. The distance

was considerable, and it was not without experiencing great fatigue that they were enabled to reach the dwelling in the evening. They fortunately found the Palambaras at home, who received them in a very friendly manner. Here they remained two days, and on the 8th pursued their course to Adowa, where they arrived about one o'clock.

At this place Mr. Salt was exceedingly surprised to find that an Englishman had arrived only a few days before from the coast, who proved to be Mr. Stuart. He had failed in a great measure in accomplishing a plan which had been proposed by Mr. Salt for his visiting Hurrur and other places, and an opportunity having been afforded him of crossing over to Massowa, he thought it best to rejoin the expedition and report the causes of his miscarriage. Mr. Salt felt greatly disappointed, though he does not appear, after having heard his statements, to attach any blame to that gentleman on the occasion. At the same time the unpleasant intelligence arrived, that two packets of letters, dispatched to Captain Weatherhead from Chelicut, had not reached their destination, so that there was much reason to fear the ship would not arrive on the coast when the party should get down.

At Adowa Mr. Salt fell into company with two respectable Greeks, one of them named Sydee Paulus, being a very old man, and father-in-law to Mr. Pearce. He conversed much respecting Mr. Bruce, and in almost every particular confirmed Dofter Esther's account of that traveller. This old man had resided in the country fifty years. His companion, Apostoli, had never seen Mr. Bruce, but had often conversed about him with Janni, who spoke of him with great respect.

On the 9th of May Mr. Salt and the party left Adowa for Axum, and again visited its ruins. During his short stay at the place he carefully revised the Greek inscription he had formerly discovered, and, in some few particulars, improved his original copy of it. In conjunction with Mr. Stuart he was also enabled to trace some lines, in the Ethiopic character, carved on the reverse of the stone, of which he has given a fac-simile.

The reception the travellers met with at Axum by no means corresponded with the favourable one they had formerly experienced, which Mr. Salt attributes in a great measure to the jealousy entertained by the priests respecting his visit to the country; probably, however,

the insolence and unruly conduct of the inhabitants was occasioned more by the absence of the Nebrid, or ruler of the district, than from any other cause; for, just as they were about to depart in disgust from such inhospitable quarters to Adowa, the Nebrid arrived, and in the most urgent manner requested them to return to Axum, where they were treated by him and his family with the greatest kindness and liberality during the rest of the day.

At daylight the next morning they again visited the stone with the Greek inscription, and made out some more of the Ethiopic characters on the reverse. Their success was not very great, the inscription being on this side much defaced by the weather, though Mr. Salt seems to think, if a person acquainted with the language had leisure to remain at Axum for some time, and were to visit the stone at different periods of the day, he might be enabled to make out a considerable portion of an inscription which it appears highly probable might throw a good deal of light upon several subjects of interest.

After having to the best of their power accomplished their object, the party proceeded on the road to Adowa. Here they found the Billetana

Welled Georgis waiting their arrival. This young chieftain seemed at first disposed to give himself a few consequential airs, but a little coolness and resolution on the part of Mr. Salt quickly brought him to submission, and he afterwards behaved in a very satisfactory manner.

On the following day Mr. Salt was requested to visit a man afflicted with that singular disease called 'the tigre-tér,'* but the patient died before he could reach the spot. A curious account is given of the ceremonies that attended the funeral, which seem greatly to resemble those observed on similar occasions by the lower order of Irish, particularly in the concluding scene, which uniformly ends in festivity and in the complete intoxication of the whole of the guests.

On the 12th Mr. Salt and his followers quitted Adowa, on their way to the coast, Mr. Coffin and Mr. Pearce accompanying them as far as the vale of Ribierani, where they parted from the company and returned to the Ras, while the others continued their route to Yeeha, and halted for the night at a house belonging to the son of Konguass Aylo. In the course of this

* A very full description is given of this strange malady, and of its mode of cure, in Pearce's Journal. Both accounts seem almost incomprehensible.—E.

day they visited the ancient ruins of a monastery, called Abba Asfé, founded by a priest of that name, who went with eight others into Ethiopia from Egypt in the early part of the sixth century, during the reign of the Emperor Ameda. Notwithstanding this great lapse of time, Mr. Salt was led to believe that the ruins still remaining formed a portion of the original building. In examining some adjoining heaps of stones, he discovered several fragments with inscriptions, which appeared to have formed part of the frieze originally surrounding the upper part of the structure. The characters were boldly carved, and appeared, from their simple forms, to have constituted a portion of a primitive Ethiopic alphabet.

On the 13th the party quitted Yeeha and arrived at Kella, where they halted for the night, and on the following day resumed their course by Logo, Abha, and the district of Kantiba Socinius, till they reached Dixan on the 16th. Here they were sadly disappointed at receiving no intelligence of the arrival of the Marian at Massowa, and in consequence determined to remain some days in their present situation, the Baharnegash having promised to do everything in his power to render their stay agreeable.

The next day a respectable man, called Hadjee Hamed, came from Massowa to offer his services during the passage to the coast: from whom Mr. Salt learned that an unusually large force of Hazorta was waiting at the bottom of Taranta for the avowed purpose of escorting the party to Arkeeko, but in reality to extort a sum of money, without which they would not permit them to pass through their district. This intelligence gave considerable alarm to the Baharnegash, as he had been made answerable by the Ras for the safety of the party. Mr. Salt, on the contrary, affected great indifference, and told that chieftain that he would advance nothing more than a few dollars, as he was unwilling to establish a precedent for so unjust an exaction. The Baharnegash then said there was another track through the mountains, by Assauli, which he should prefer, but that he must first send a messenger to communicate with a chief who commanded the pass. This plan being finally adopted, it was agreed to keep it secret until the moment of departure, for the purpose of keeping the Hazorta quiet in their station.

On the 19th, everything being arranged for the journey, they set out from Dixan at an early

hour, and passing over a low ridge of the mountain, which forms the north-western range of Taranta, they arrived at the villages Séah and Kudoona, near which they encamped for the night. Towards evening the brother of Shum Sadoo, the ruler of the district, paid them a visit, and brought the usual supply of provisions. Mr. Salt gave him twenty dollars in return, for which he promised to protect them to Arkeeko. The following day they passed over a second ridge of mountains, and had to descend a short, but very steep and rugged path, which led to a turn in the road, where a mountain appeared in sight at about ten miles' distance, on which formerly stood the monastery of Bisan, celebrated throughout Abyssinia for its wealth and the sanctity of its monks; but it was now deserted and in ruins.

From this place the party continued to descend for about ten miles, keeping the line of the stream, through a gully abounding with trees of various descriptions, and which seemed to have been recently traversed by elephants, as there was scarcely a tree that did not bear marks of their ravages. At three o'clock they reached an opening in the gully, when Baharnegash Yasous requested them to go a short dis-

tance out of the way to view a pass "through which the Tabôt was brought into the country by Menilek."

This place was somewhat remarkable from a number of wild date-trees being found on the spot, which do not appear to be indigenous in the country. At night the party pitched their tent near a beautiful grove, situated by the side of a stream. On the 22nd they set off by daylight, and passed down a gully, nearly impracticable for mules, till they reached a spot where the road divided in two; and here they left the stream, which Mr. Salt was told ran in an eastern direction to Wéah, and turned northward up the ascent of the high mountain Assanli. In their way they passed several parties of Shiho, and visited one of their encampments, which displayed great neatness and comfort. The ascent of the mountain Assanli was very steep, but was rendered less unpleasant by the romantic nature of the scenery and the beautiful groves of plants and flowering shrubs that everywhere abounded. About halfway up they came to a spring of pellucid water, trickling from the rocks, into an artificial basin. Here the travellers halted during the heat of the day, and in the afternoon arrived in about two hours at the

summit of the mountain, the view from which presented a scene of the most extraordinary character. Immediately in front lay a verdant plain, on which the natives were engaged in various agricultural pursuits, while beyond an extensive prospect opened over the burning regions of the Tehama, comprehending the mountain of Ras Gidam, the island of Massowa, and the expanded line of the surrounding sea. Near this spot stood the tomb of a Sheik, equally reverenced by Christians and Mahomedans. On arriving opposite to it, Baharnegash Yasous and his son broke some bread, of which, from a superstitious anxiety, Mr. Salt and his friends were earnestly requested to partake; but he was unable to ascertain the origin of the custom.

From the top of Assanli they began to descend for about half a mile, when they came to a circular spot covered with green turf, where they halted for the night. In the evening Baharnegash Yasous took his leave. He had attended Mr. Salt during the whole of his stay in the country, and appears to have been an individual of the most blameless, benevolent, and religious character. On his going away, Mr. Salt presented him with an hundred dollars

and a small piece of broadcloth, and they parted with deep and mutual regret.

On the 23rd the travellers reached the bottom of the mountain, and gradually losing sight of the late beautiful scenery, they got into a wild jungle of thorny acacias, growing on a barren soil. After this the country became so wild and thickly set with trees, that they lost their way, until an old shepherd set them right. Hence they proceeded in an easterly direction, and reached a range of wells in the bed of a torrent, within eleven miles of Arkeeko, where they encamped for the night. Soon after they were visited by Baharnegash Oual, the chief of the adjoining district, who, on inquiry, proved to be an Abyssinian, a circumstance which pleased and surprised Mr. Salt, as he was not previously aware that the Christian influence extended so near the coast.

In the night he was awakened by a loud outcry in the camp, occasioned by some furious wild beast attempting to carry off one of the mules, which so terrified the rest of the animals that they broke from their fastenings and stood trembling in a cluster together, covered with profuse perspiration. From the extraordinary

alarm they evinced, Mr. Salt conjectured that the animal must have been a lion.

On the following day they reached Arkeeko, and proceeded to Massowa, where they found, to their great regret, that the Marian had not yet arrived; they were, however, attentively received by the Kaimakan. The heat of the weather, the putrid stench of the place, and the anxiety he felt at the absence of the ship, altogether threw Mr. Salt into a violent fever, from which he was with great difficulty recovered by the kind and uniform attention of Mr. Smith. Fortunately, about the time, a dow, belonging to Currum Chund, came into the harbour, which was speedily hired for their conveyance, and on the 4th of June Mr. Salt was carried on board. The following day he remunerated his Abyssinian attendants, and taking a final leave of Ayto Debib, set sail.

On the 6th they touched at Dahalac el Kibeer, and on the 10th stretched across the Red Sea, and anchored safely in Mocha Roads, where they took up their residence in the British factory.

Captain Weatherhead having completed his cargo by the 27th of June, they bade farewell to

their friends at the factory and sailed from Mocha Roads, with the intention of making a windward passage against the south-west monsoon to the Cape of Good Hope, an attempt which they were finally obliged to relinquish, after having encountered many dangers, particularly off the island of Socotra, where they almost miraculously escaped being shipwrecked.

On the 9th of July, the weather becoming still more boisterous, and the ship, on examination, being found in a very disabled state, the captain called a meeting of his officers to deliberate on the measures most advisable to pursue, when it was unanimously judged necessary to abandon all thoughts of a windward passage, and to bear away for Bombay, or some other harbour on the Malabar Coast, where the ship might undergo such repairs as were indispensable for the completion of the voyage. This resolution being determined on, a document was drawn up, and signed by all the ship's officers, to justify the departure from the track to which the vessel had been limited. The captain then immediately bore up for Bombay, and on the 16th entered the harbour.

As soon as Mr. Salt had landed he went to call on his old friend Mr. Duncan, who received

him in the most friendly manner, and allotted him apartments in the government-house during his stay at the settlement. A few days afterwards, the dangerous state of the Marian being officially ascertained, her cargo was unshipped, and she was put into dock to undergo a thorough repair. During the delay occasioned by this event, Mr. Salt spent his time very agreeably, owing to the polite attention he received from the inhabitants, and particularly from the late Sir James Mackintosh, who gave him free access to his extensive and valuable library.

At length, on the 4th of October the ship set sail from Bombay, and arrived, without accident, at the Cape on the 4th of December, where Mr. Salt was most kindly welcomed by his former friends and acquaintance, several of whom, from his long absence, had entertained serious alarm for his safety.

On the 12th of December the Marian left the Cape, touched at St. Helena on the 29th, and, after a remarkably fine passage, reached Penzance in Cornwall, on the 11th of January 1811. From this place Mr. Salt proceeded to London, and laid a statement of the transactions that had occurred during his two years' absence, before the Marquess Wellesley, then Secretary of State

for Foreign Affairs, when his Lordship was pleased to express his unqualified approbation of the whole of his proceedings, an approbation which Mr. Salt may be justly excused for mentioning with some feeling of pride and exultation, when we consider his Lordship's distinguished talents and his extensive acquaintance with eastern affairs.

The expedition, in a mercantile point of view, was, I am informed by Mr. Jacob, productive of considerable advantage, though greatly inferior to that which might reasonably have been anticipated, had circumstances remained in a position which could have justified a second speculation to the Red Sea; but about this period the island of Java fell into the possession of the English; and as its productions rivalled in quantity, and nearly in quality, many of the articles procurable at Mocha, it was not thought prudent to hazard another voyage to that place. How far any future change in the relative situation of these distant countries may render it desirable to open a more extensive communication with the shores of the Red Sea, it might be very difficult to determine at the present juncture, but, setting aside all idea of commercial advantage, it appears much to be wished, in a

scientific, political, and religious point of view, that no opportunity should be overlooked by Government of improving our connexion with Abyssinia, and with several other states and dependencies to the north of the Straits of Babel Mandeb.

Throughout the whole of his arduous undertaking, Mr. Salt appears to have adhered studiously to the tenor of his instruction, and to have endeavoured to obtain, by every means within his power, a clear insight into the history, character, trade, and commerce of the inhabitants of the different countries which came immediately, or indirectly, under his observation; and it is only to be regretted that so enterprising and veracious a traveller should have been restrained, by the precise nature of his orders with respect to the detention of the ship, from pursuing his journey to Gondar, perhaps to remoter regions, and of acquiring accurate information upon many interesting particulars, which have hitherto been involved in considerable, if not in total obscurity.

Though some changes had taken place in the Administration of the country since the period of Mr. Salt's departure from England, the Government, nevertheless, appears to have been

perfectly contented with his exertions throughout the whole of the mission. He received, I have been told, a thousand pounds for his services during his two years' absence, and it is more than probable that the satisfaction he afforded his employers on the occasion had no inconsiderable influence in subsequently procuring him the situation of Consul-General in Egypt.

CHAPTER X.

Salt's unexpected appearance at the Author's House.—His miserable Costume.—Frequent Attendance at the Foreign Office.—The Ethiopic Letter to His Majesty from the King of Abyssinia.—Sent for Translation to the Rev. Alexander Murray.—Interesting Correspondence between that Gentleman and Salt.

For some months previously to his return, his friends in England suffered a good deal of anxiety from his protracted absence. Few letters had been received from him by any individual since the short one he addressed to me on his first arrival at the Mosambique, and as we were entirely ignorant of the ship he sailed in being forced to bear away for Bombay, the delay in his arrival occasioned no small degree of suspense and conjecture. At this period a mutual friend* and I resided together at a house in Argyle Street, and our conversation naturally

* The late Henry Broughton, Esq. afterwards one of Salt's executors.

often turned upon the absent traveller. One evening in particular, while sitting after dinner, we had been speaking of him with more than usual earnestness, when we heard a loud knock at the door, which was quickly followed by the servant entering the room and announcing that a gentleman of the name of Salt wished to speak to us, and almost before we could find time to recover from our surprise, a tall figure entered the parlour, enveloped from top to toe in a rough seaman's coat, which totally concealed his person from our view. We were not, however, left long in doubt with respect to his identity, as he instantly sprang forward, and catching me by the hand, exclaimed—"I always told you, Halls, that 'The Bad Shilling' would come back again in safety."

Though he had travelled straight from Penzance, he discovered no symptoms of fatigue, and appeared to be in the highest health and spirits; but when I attempted to assist him off with his great-coat, a "wrap-rascal" of the genuine breed, he laughingly held it open, and discovering to our view the dilapidated state of his under vestments, fully convinced us of the necessity of its remaining on his shoulders. He had been absent so much longer than had been

calculated upon, that he had literally worn his wardrobe to tatters, the whole of his original stock being now reduced to one waistcoat and a pair of black silk breeches, which hung about his person in ribbons. His rueful appearance, of course, excited no small degree of merriment, more especially when he informed us, that in this sorry trim he had just been obliged to report himself at the Foreign Office, and to call at Mr. Jacob's house to acquaint him with the arrival of the ship. Here, to his no small dismay, he had been ushered into the drawing-room among the ladies of the family, who strenuously urged him to remove his outside habiliment lest he might take cold when he went out again into the wintry air. To all these solicitations, however, he judiciously turned a deaf ear, and was solely occupied in devising the most plausible pretext for extricating himself from so perilous and unlooked-for a dilemma.

The miserable plight in which he reached Argyll Street, for even the great-coat he wore had been borrowed from some one on board the ship, rendered it necessary in the first instance to despatch a messenger to a neighbouring tailor's, in order that he might be equipped forthwith with a new suit of apparel, as he would

otherwise have been forced to remain a close prisoner till the arrival of so necessary a supply. In the mean while Mr. Broughton and I begged that he would, for the present, domiciliate himself with us, and wait a more auspicious moment for seeking out other quarters.

These weighty matters being settled, we drew our chairs round the fire, and, as may be imagined, sat chatting to a late hour over the events of the last two years. Salt remained with us for a few days, and shortly after took up his abode at some apartments in Great Marlborough Street, where he lived, when in London, for nearly the next two years, so that he became a very near neighbour, and, as usual, he and I saw much of each other.

On his first arrival, his time was a good deal taken up in attending the Foreign Office, and in settling his private affairs. The letter in the Ethiopic language, which he had brought for his Majesty from the King of Abyssinia, had been laid before the Marquess Wellesley, who being desirous of having it translated, Mr. Salt suggested that the Rev. Alexander Murray, the learned editor of Bruce's work, should be employed on the occasion; when the following

official letter was in consequence addressed to that gentleman by C. C. Smith, Esq.

"Foreign Office, Downing Street,
March 1st, 1811.

"SIR,

"The Marquess Wellesley being desirous of obtaining a translation of a letter written in the Ethiopic language, and addressed to his Majesty by the King of Abyssinia, and having been informed of your knowledge of that language, has directed me to transmit the copy of that letter to you, and I am to convey his lordship's request that you will be pleased to furnish him with the desired translation as soon as your convenience may permit.

"I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

CULLING CHARLES SMITH."

"P.S. I beg to observe, that Marquess Wellesley has taken the liberty of referring the inclosed to you at the suggestion of Mr. Salt, who has been the bearer of the letter from Abyssinia. C. C. S."

"Rev. Alexander Murray."

In consequence of the above application,

Mr. Salt, in a short time after, received the following letter from Mr. Murray, which led to a correspondence between them, which I shall insert occasionally in the narrative of the life.

FROM THE REV. ALEXANDER MURRAY TO HENRY SALT, ESQ.

"Manse of Urr, March 12th, 1811.

"SIR,

"I have this day transmitted to the Secretary of State's Office the copy of the letter which you brought from Ras Welda Selassé, of Tigré, for his Majesty, and I have accompanied it with the translation requested by the Marquess Wellesley at your desire. Besides the thanks which I now express to you for suggesting his lordship's application to me, I beg leave to offer them additionally for the opportunity which that gives me of corresponding with you on a very interesting subject.

"I was employed by Mr. Constable in 1802, soon after I left the college, to edit the travels of your predecessor in the dangerous task of entering Abyssinia. Of course, I had to read Mr. Bruce's papers and MSS. which consumed much of my time, for I understood the Geez very imperfectly when I undertook that labour.

You will observe by the second edition of his work, that I at length gained a considerable knowledge of the Geez, and a smattering of the Amharic. With care and attention, I could write on any subject in the Geez, and, if you have leisure to study it, you will find that it is a much more perspicuous dialect than the Arabic, for the vowels are expressed in the alphabet, the senses of the words are better fixed, and the ambiguities of expression and of the characters, which occur in Arabic writing, are much less frequent in Geez. I may add, that Ludolf's dictionaries and grammars of the Ethiopic, or Geez, and of the Amharic, are nearly sufficient to clear up all difficulties in the words of any Geez MS. and to introduce the study of the Amharic. The pronunciation of Arabic is as difficult as of Ethiopic.

"While engaged in tracing the lively story of Bruce's adventures in Habbesh, I gained such a knowledge of the history of the country, and of the people, as has ever since made me extremely anxious to get information respecting the present state of that kingdom. I am sorry to learn from Lord Valentia's and your travels, that the province of Tigré is separated from the rest of the country, for the reasons which have been too

common in Habbesh. The worst of it too is, that though the Governor of Tigré may be able to make a king at Gondar, he cannot support him there. The Galla have for forty years had a great deal of influence at court, and the effects of their sway are injurious to all civilization. It gives me pleasure to see that the son of Keefla Yasous maintains himself in Tigré, which he may long do if countenanced by Britain. As the Naybe is merely a nominal officer of the Porte, would it not be easy to obtain the resignation of Masuah at Constantinople, that Welda Selassé might complain no longer of being completely surrounded by Gentiles. Peace might probably be brought about between the Governor of Tigré and the Governor of Begemder and Amhara; so that a British envoy might reach Gondar.

"As Abyssinia is justly regarded by our nation as a Christian country, it deserves our attention on that account. The bigotry of the Mahometans is intolerable. The Abyssinians are also bigoted adherents of the Greek Church. But, beyond the recommendation of the Scriptures, I am certain we ought not to interfere with their religion. The Jesuits lost all footing in that country by endeavouring to [illegible]

church above the throne and the old religion. Every prudent attempt to increase the knowledge and civilization of the people of Habbesh would, I believe, be so far successful. Every attempt to innovate in religion will be accompanied with the greatest danger. The Abuna is a mere ignorant instrument. The ecclesiastics of importance are the Itchequé and Acab Saat; the one is the King's official confessor, the other is the prior, or superior of the monks. All these people, who go by the name of monks, hermits, &c. are a most ignorant class of savages, as turbulent as they are numerous. It appears from the letter, that Welda Selassé differs from the court in their opinion about the nativity of Christ. I know not what he means about the three nativities. Possibly they consider the descent of the Spirit on our Saviour at his baptism as a nativity. He is as orthodox as we are; but it is an old Abyssinian practice to differ in faith from enemies. It is certain, that every governor endeavours to gain a party among the monks, who are divided into two fierce, irreconcilable sects. Your residence in Abyssinia must, I suppose, have convinced you that these religious disputes are quite absurd and ruinous.

"You have done material service to ancient history by discovering the Greek inscription, and by describing the ruins which remain at Axume. Tigré is the ancient seat of the Abyssinian Government. But all the history of that country, from the time of the Ptolemies down to the thirteenth century, is lost, and can never be recovered except by such accidental notices as travellers and antiquaries can collect.

"The attention of travellers in Abyssinia might be directed to the history of the Agows, Falasha, and Galla, but particularly to the language and manners of the Shangalla. These last are the remains of the Negro Nubians. Mr. Bruce has procured no specimen of their language. But, if it could be made appear that the Shangalla on the north-west of Habbesh, and the tribes along the Bahar el Abrad, now forced into the mountains by the Arabs, are allied to the Feelahs and Mandingoes on the western side of Africa, this would settle an important fact in African History.

"I shall be happy to learn from you, if proper or convenient, whether you have any thoughts of returning to Tigré? If you have not turned your attention to the languages, or if you intend to do so, and think that I can be of any use to

you in such matters, you may reckon upon my readiness to promote your views. I do not pretend to much skill in a language which is so remote from European reach and practice; but you may rest assured that we could safely write any letters or papers in the Geez, which you might think proper to take along with you. If you were master of it, you might easily get at the Amharic and all the other Abyssinian dialects, for you could write down your mind in Geez and get it turned into them by any scribe acquainted with these dialects. All Abyssinian scribes understand Geez. Few of them know Arabic so well as might be expected.

"Mr. Constable has informed me that you have some thoughts of visiting Scotland. It will give me high pleasure to see you at the Manse (parsonage house) of Urr, and to give you the welcome of Salomĕ lek Salamĕ Egzein gahālec lek. The parish of which I am clergyman is about thirteen miles north-west from Dumfries, and on the road from Carlisle by Dumfries to Portpatrick, and thence to Ireland.

"If you were with me, voice to voice (kâl bekâl) I would trouble you with many a question; as, Who is Guĕguĕsa's, or Gushō's heterodox king?—What became of Tecla Haimā-

not?—Where is Girgis?—Who now governs Amhara and Begemder?—Is Welda Selassé black? Is he warlike, sensible, and good-looking?—Did you hear anything of the end of Ras Michaél, or how he got out of Wundŭ Bĕwrè-sen's hands? I rather think that the "Gusho" of Mr. Bruce must have died some time ago of mere old age.

"Be pleased to let me hear from you, if convenient, and believe me to be,

"With the greatest respect and sincerity,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"ALEXANDER MURRAY.

"Henry Salt, Esq."

FROM H. SALT, ESQ. TO THE REV. ALEXANDER MURRAY.

"London, March 26th, 1811.

"DEAR SIR,

"Owing to the negligence of the porter of the Foreign Office, I did not get your letter until Saturday. Its receipt gave me great pleasure, as I have for some time back been anxious to become acquainted with a gentleman who has dedicated so large a portion of his time to Ethiopic literature. It has been strongly impressed on my mind, from the moment I read

your very sensible annotations on Bruce, that it might be of importance to the elucidation of Abyssinian history and manners, if the knowledge which I have acquired by living among them could be benefited by the intimate acquaintance you possess of their literature and language, and with this view I took the earliest opportunity of, in a manner, soliciting your acquaintance by the mention which I made of you to the Marquess Wellesley.

"From your letter, and the very strong and feeling manner in which Mr. Constable spoke of you, I am induced to hope that I shall find in you not only an auxiliary in the pursuits which so much interest me, but also a friend to whom I may as safely impart, as I shall be happy to receive from you, an open and confidential expression of my sentiments.

"This, however, would be more agreeable to both parties, could we, in the first instance, form a personal acquaintance. If, therefore, your pursuits are such as to render it convenient for you to give me a visit in town, which would afford me much pleasure, I shall certainly make it a point to pay an early visit to Scotland. For a few months this will not be in my power, as it is necessary for me previously to arrange

my affairs in London; but, by the month of June or July I hope to be at liberty, when, with the confidence of a friend, I shall accept, for a short time, your invitation to Urr. I shall be able to bring with me two or three Ethiopic manuscripts and a copy of Lord Valentia's "Travels," when we shall be able to talk over at leisure the affairs of Habbesh. Until then I forbear to enter into a particular reply to your letter: to answer it properly would afford ample matter for a volume.

"Believe me, dear sir,
"Your very obliged humble servant,
"H. SALT."

"P.S. I have just received a copy of your translation of the Ras's letter. As I hope you have reserved a copy of the Ethiopic, I venture to mention two or three points, which I am led to think you have, from not before knowing the tenor of the letter, in some degree mistaken; but, as I do *not* understand the language, this is only conjecture on my part; it is, however, of the utmost consequence to me, and therefore I will thank you to revise it. The following is the memorandum I made of its contents when the letter was read to me through the interpretation of Mr. Pearce.

"In it he (the Ras) acknowledges the presents as received in trust for the king—expresses his obligations to his Majesty for thinking of the Christians in so remote a country—gives the reason of my (Henry Salt) not going to Gondar, owing to his war with Guxo (or Gueguesa) of Gojam," (who has at present much influence at Gondar,) "but that, by the grace of God, he will march there as soon as the rain be over, as with the guns so sent by his Majesty, he should be sure of victory—that surrounded as he was by Gentiles, he wished a ship should be stationed in the Red Sea to keep up a communication with his people and ours.—To this he adds the account of his faith, *two* nativities as opposed to *three*, then makes mention of Pearce—and lastly of a wish for a new Abuna.

"Any communication you make to me on this subject will, of course, be private; but I have to mention it is probable that an application may, after some interval of time, be made from the Foreign Office on the subject. I will thank you to let me hear from you as soon as convenient.

"Believe me to be most truly yours,

"H. SALT."

"Rev. Alex. Murray."

On the receipt of the above, Mr. Murray again looked over his copy of the original Ethiopic letter, and carefully revised the translation of its contents which he had previously sent to the Foreign Office; but he found, after the strictest examination, that he had only one or two slight alterations to suggest. These, however, as will be seen by the following letter from Mr. Murray, proved of some importance to Mr. Salt in his communications with the ministry. As the language in which the original letter from the Ras is written, is so little known in England, I abstain from giving a copy of it, and shall content myself with merely laying the translation before the reader. It is, perhaps, as Mr. Murray observes, of too literal a nature for publication, though on many accounts it appears to me to be a document of too curious and interesting a nature to be wholly omitted.

FROM THE REV. ALEX. MURRAY TO H. SALT, ESQ.

Manse of Urr, April 9th, 1811.

"DEAR SIR,

"My indifferent state of health, which has continued last winter, and of late has not been improved by the cold spring which we have here, has prevented me from answering your letter

dated March 26th ult. But I now proceed to thank you for the good opinion which you express of my acquisitions in Oriental literature; which, though they are certainly very slender, have obtained as much credit and praise as they deserve, partly from the kindness of friends, and partly because they belong to an unusual line of study. Whatever they are, they are entirely at your service, at all times; nor do I entertain the slightest doubt that your experience and knowledge gained in Habbesh would throw material light on numerous points connected with the history of that country which no skill in the language can elucidate. I regret that we had not been acquainted with one another before you set out, as I think that in a short time you could have mustered as much of the Geez, or language of books, as would have enabled you to read, and your residence in Tigré would have completed the colloquial part, as the exact pronunciation cannot be got in Britain. I trust, however, that the Government will continue the intercourse with Abyssinia, and that you may have occasion to return in a short time to that country. I am certain that the language must, in that event, be of the utmost service to you. If you can bear a little drudgery at first, you

will soon get hold of it, for the Geez, that is to say, the dialect in which all the Abyssinian books and letters are written, is exceedingly well collected in Ludolf's dictionary; and his introduction to the Amharic, or modern Abyssinian, is admirable, considering his scanty materials. Of that dialect I got a smattering from his works, and as I had Mr. Bruce's Ethiopic MSS. to read, which Ludolf never saw, I was astonished at the grammatical talents of a man whose opportunities were so very limited. When I have the happiness of seeing you in Scotland, to which I look with great satisfaction, I shall then venture to discuss with you many topics of a similar kind, at full length, which cannot enter the limits of this Dutch epistle.

"I have chosen this large sheet for the purpose of considering the Ras's letter, in which you apprehend that I had misunderstood some passages from want of previous acquaintance with the history of the embassy. When it came to my hands, I found some difficulties on that account; but as the language is remarkably plain and good, I think that I have erred only in one particular, which respects the ship. But for your perfect satisfaction, I here insert the whole letter with the literal English of each

word. The translation is of course stiff, and approaching to the unintelligible; but I am persuaded that you will rather wish to see it as it is, than to take a loose account of it.

" *Translation.*

' The cross and the name Ai-ya-su-se. Jesus.

' Peace to thee, and the peace of the Lord be with thee O king the, Third George, glorious in the Lord. & their shepherd to Christians in faith and in works just—their shepherd of the people of India minor Kings." (viz. shepherd of the inferior Kings of India.) " And came thy servant Hinorai Sawelt to me :: and he brought to me all that thou hast given me: whatever thou hast graciously bestowed: for all that thou hast done, to me :: on Earth thou hast given. and in Heaven it shall be requited to thee. We return to the first matter :: Hinoria Sawelt went not to the King for there is not a King orthodox in the faith. And I have carried on war: with him who *dis*agrees with [*from*] us in the faith, who is called Gueguesa [Guxo]: And he has made a King who is not orthodox in the faith— And for that I have carried on war ∴ and what will be to the SPIRIT of thee sending to me is the order of the church Christian :: And what will be to the FLESH, or body, of thee sending: to

me is that I have got victory: [or, *I will get victory,* which is the best sense] over him my enemy: and my adversaries: what are called lances and knives and artillery:: and the deed of thee which thou hast done: to me.: the grateful consideration: of my soul: it is: For before me was [is] Heathen and behind me was [is] heathen: On my right and on my left was [is] heathen:: and I in the middle of them all heathens. and all that is on the shore of the sea. heathen it is [:¬ wherefore [or if] thou hast stationed: [or thou *shalt* station:] to me, of thine-a-ship on the sea, good that [that is right] for my messenger and for thy messenger that they may meet: voice to voice And my faith is as the faith of thee it is: my faith is that I affirm there are to the Son two nativities—a Nativity from the Father from before Time and a Nativity from the Virgin in latter days: this is what *I* maintain:: and the doctrine of the faith is written in the Scripture—and Nathaniel Pése thy servant is with me in peace—We return to the beginning of the matter, to my faith—deserter they call me but I have not deserted my faith—and they say all of them be as we and own three Nativities, and the matter of the *Abuna,* as much as | you it can, make

him come to me: and send him to me, at me or here: For age of age Amen.

RAS
WELDA
SELASSÉ.

"The above is a most literal translation of the whole letter; indeed, too literal for public use. The only passages in it that appear doubtful to me are where he says that *he has got a victory*, or that *he will* get a victory. I used the former sense in the translation sent to the Foreign Office; but I am inclined to think that the future is the proper sense of the word, which is also more agreeable to your notes. You may probably think that the words, 'what are called lances and knives and artillery,' ought to be joined to the preceding sentence, as *instruments* of future victory; but I cannot confirm this, for the Abyssinian idiom does not permit it, as the sentence stands. Yet, after all, the meaning may be that he shall conquer his enemy and adversaries *with what is called'* (the word is *is* not *are*) 'lances and knives and artillery. The other passage regards the ship. I translated it, 'wherefore that thou hast made one of thy ships to be stationed.' The ambiguity lies in the *preterite* tense, which the Abyssinians

sometimes use as a *future*. I now think it should be translated, 'If thou *shalt* station one of thy ships for me on the sea, that will be good or right.' These are the only points in the letter that are in the least doubtful.

"As to the Ras's thanking our King for thinking of the Christians of so remote a country, that is not mentioned; nor is it, I fear, in unison with the Abyssinian opinion, though it be true in fact. As to the holding the presents for the King, which your friends of the Treasury may perhaps think an object of importance, nothing is said; indeed, nothing could be said. The Ras is at open war with the King of Abyssinia, who is for the most part a mere pageant, and at present is a person raised to that rank by Gueguesā (Guxo) of Gojam. If our court wish to succeed, it must consider the Governor of the province of Tigré as the king of that part of the country. If supported by Britain, he may soon regulate the interior, and make a King of his own, as well as an Abuna. Such is the ordinary custom of Habbesh. I have given you this minute view of the letter, that you may rectify any misapprehension of the Treasury respecting your mission. Presents to Welda Selassé will open his province, and probably fix his ascendant.

Presents given to the King, such a King as is at present in Habbesh, would be absolutely thrown away. If the Foreign Office apply to me, I shall be ready to clear up the mistaken passage respecting the ship. The sentence was obscure to me, and on consideration, I think now that it signifies a positive wish to have the communication kept up by stationing a ship on the coast. The whole language of the letter shows that the Ras is very desirous to hold intercourse with his Majesty, and to be thankful for his bounty. He dwells on the article of his religion, and evidently wishes to stand high in his Majesty's estimation. I shall be exceedingly sorry if your friends in the ministry either blame *you*, or be discouraged at the present state of Abyssinian intercourse. If they had the same opinion of that country which its history leads me to form, they would view matters in a different light. It would be creditable to Britain if Habbesh could be made a power of some consequence, and put in possession of the coast, in opposition to the Mahometan Arabs and other tribes of a bad description.

"You may rely on an open and confidential expression of my sentiments on any subject on which you may be pleased to correspond with me. If at all practicable for you, your journey

down to Scotland in summer will give me the greatest satisfaction. I cannot go up to town, as a Scotch parson is obliged to *reside*, and particularly in the summer season. I have some friends here, who will be happy to see the Abyssinian traveller. Be so kind as to let me know when this epistle reaches you, and if it satisfies your mind as to the doubtful points; and believe me to be, dear sir,

"Yours most truly,

ALEX. MURRAY."

"To Henry Salt, Esq."

FROM HENRY SALT TO THE REV. ALEXANDER MURRAY.

"London, April 24th, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have to thank you for your very obliging letter dated April the 9th, which in every respect was most satisfactory to me. I should have acknowledged it sooner had I not wished previously to see Mr. Cullen Smith, the Under Secretary, through whom all my business is transacted with Government on the subject. I this day had an appointment with him, when I took the liberty, as I conceived myself authorised by an expression therein contained, to give

him a private perusal of your letter. He was, as I expected he would be, much struck with the important matter it contains relative to my mission, and he most particularly pointed out how very desirable it was that it should be delivered in as a public document, explanatory of my proceedings, as he had no doubt that, coming from you, it would be much attended to by his Majesty's ministers.

To this I could not without your sanction agree; however, I was by his solicitation at length induced to consent that it might be submitted to Lord Wellesley's perusal as a *private* letter, and have farther engaged to address you on the subject, to request your sanction to its being left in the office. Upon a mature consideration, I trust you will see no objection to this; it will not only prove, I am sure, of great importance to my concerns, but I trust to the public interest, as it will be likely to draw the attention of Marquess Wellesley to a future intercourse with Abyssinia, a circumstance which I feel would be highly agreeable to you as well as to myself. I hope you will give the matter your consideration, and be kind enough to let me have a favourable answer.

"I should extend my letter, but that I am

driven to the last moment before the post goes out, and I have been so much engaged with the ship to-day, which has just arrived in the river with my baggage, as to have been unable to begin it sooner.

"Believe me, my dear sir,

Yours most gratefully,

HENRY SALT."

"Rev. Alexander Murray."

FROM THE REV. ALEXANDER MURRAY TO HENRY SALT, ESQ.

"Kinnaird, Stirlingshire, May 4th, 1811.

"DEAR SIR,

"I received your letter dated April the 24th ult. in course of post, and should have replied to it before this time, had I not been on the point of setting out on a journey to Kinnaird, the seat of the late Mr. Bruce, from which I now write to you. Where I at present sit there is one of the finest collections of Abyssinian and Arabic MSS. that have ever been put together; indeed, I am certain that so much Oriental literature of that kind does not exist elsewhere in Europe. My head is so full of what I have been reading about Yasous Tallac, Yasous Tannash,

Ras Michael, Joas, and other Abyssinians, all described in their native tongue, that it is probable you will perceive some confusion in this epistle, a case not uncommon in literary correspondence. I wish you were beside me to take a look of your predecessor's most valuable collection, and to see how easy it is, with such aids, to acquire the language of Habbesh.

"I have but one word to say as to the request contained in your letter:—Make any use, public or private, of the letter which I wrote to you, according to your pleasure, except such matters as relate to our personal correspondence. Every syllable that it comprehends would have been addressed to the Marquess Wellesley himself, had he, for any reason whatever, done me the honour of referring to me on the subject. I think that I committed a slight, but, considering the ambiguity of a very foreign language, a natural mistake in the article respecting the ship. The Ras speaks in the *future*, not in the *preterite* tense, though, according to an idiom of the language, since discovered by me in Ludolf, the preterite tense be written. He evidently wishes to keep up a communication with the English. The language of his letter to the

King throughout shows his desire that we should second his inclinations.

"I had seen Lord Valentia's 'Travels' formerly, but had not read them with care. I have, since I came to Edinburgh, and within these few days, read them with attention. I see with much pleasure the large addition which you have made to our knowledge of the province and antiquities of Tigré, and particularly with regard to Axum. Your drawings are not only beautiful but correct. You are right in calling those to be found in the second edition of 'Bruce's Travels' fanciful, but the fault lay not with Mr. Bruce, but with ourselves. The sketches of Balugani were not coloured,* and considerable liberties were taken in engraving them.

"The language of Lord Valentia's 'Travels,' with respect to Mr. Bruce, is, I think, a great deal too like what occurs in books written by new adventurers in discovery. He gives Bruce in many places the lie direct, and uses terms far too broad, even if they had been sanctioned by an absolute certainty of that traveller's false-

* Perhaps Mr. Murray means, that they were simple outlines without light and shadow, otherwise I do not exactly understand the sense of his observation.—E.

hood.* I wish I had you here to receive an adequate idea from the books and papers now lying around me, of the great merits of that bold, but not infallible visiter of Abyssinia: observe, at the same time, that I, though the editor of his works, account myself in no respect obliged to defend him, or any man, in their wilful or accidental errors. I wish merely that the real merits of his labours should be known and made certain. I came to this place yesterday for two purposes: one is, to make a descriptive account of all the Oriental MSS. and books in this library, for the use of Mrs. Bruce, and those to whom she may wish to show it. The other is,

* I confess, when I read this and some other passages relating to his lordship, which occur in the course of this correspondence, I felt induced, from the consideration that Lord Valentia was not the subject of the present work, as well as from personal feelings of regard, to have suppressed any observations that might tend to excite painful and unnecessary feelings; but I owe it to his lordship to declare, that on my mentioning the circumstances to him, he insisted on my not omitting a single passage in which his name was called in question, and I have religiously adhered to his instructions. After all, Mr. Murray should have recollected that Mr. Bruce himself is by no means faultless in these respects, as he frequently uses very broad language when speaking of his predecessors, and in more than one instance gives them the lie direct.

to reperuse for a short time the original papers of Mr. Bruce's 'Travels,' in order to correct any errors, or confirm any points to be found in my edition of his work. You may believe me, that, for the good of mankind, and of Africa in particular, it is my sincere wish that the knowledge of Abyssinian literature may be promoted. If this collection belonged to the public, Britain would have it in her power to learn the language and history of Habbesh at home, and to qualify persons travelling there, without depending on Mahometan interpreters. Geez may be perfectly learned here. The Amharic may be acquired to an useful, but not full extent,—I mean the knowledge of writing, not of speaking, Tigré and Amharic.

"A new edition of 'Bruce's Travels' is to go to press in a few months. Everything in which I can be of the smallest service to you, in your studies, or other views, you may always command. If you think proper to write to me here, where I shall be for eight days, direct to 'The Rev. A. Murray, Kinnaird House, &c.' I observe in Valentia's 'Travels,' that you speak Arabic. Have you mastered the Geez alphabet, or have you got hold of 'Ludolf's Dictionary?' The only complete copy of that book

which I have ever seen, belonged to Mr. Bruce. It contains the Ethiopic and Amharic dictionaries and grammars, all in one volume. Observe, that the edition of Wansleb, in England, is useless, and very common; the other is rare. If you have any occasional correspondence with Mr. Cullen Smith, or with the Marquess Wellesley, express to them my readiness to serve them as far as my abilities go, in what regards any future mission to Africa.

"I am most respectfully and sincerely

Yours,

ALEXANDER MURRAY."

"To Henry Salt, Esq."

CHAPTER XI.

Salt visits his Father and other Relatives in Lichfield.—Renews his acquaintance with the Rev. Dr. Wodehouse.—The Author's Visit to Salt at Lichfield.—Introduction to his Father.—Peculiarities of that Gentleman.—Rambles of the Author and Salt during their sojourn at Lichfield.—A boyish Feat.—Return to London.—Renewal of Correspondence with Mr. Murray on the subject of Abyssinia.

HERE this interesting correspondence was interrupted for some months. In the mean while Mr. Salt was employed in arranging his private affairs, and in settling with Mr. Jacob, from whom he had all along received many marks of kindness and friendship. No sooner, however, were these matters placed on a satisfactory footing than Mr. Salt proceeded to Lichfield on a visit to his father and other relatives, resident in that city, where he was received with pride and affection by his family and by many valued friends. Among others, he renewed his acquaintance with the Rev. Dr. Wodehouse, the

venerable Dean of Lichfield, in whose society, and in that of his amiable and accomplished daughter, he spent many agreeable and profitable hours.

It was on one of these occasions that the dean mentioned to Mr. Salt his intention of presenting a painted glass window to the cathedral of the place, and he requested him to recommend some artist of his acquaintance, whom he considered competent to make the designs. Mr. Salt having named me as a person well qualified for the undertaking, the dean immediately gave his consent to my being employed, and I was in consequence shortly sent for to receive the necessary instructions.

On my arrival at Lichfield, Mr. Salt introduced me to his sister Mrs. Morgan, and her husband, who hospitably insisted on my taking up my quarters at their house during my residence in the city. He shortly afterwards took me to visit his father, whom, from all the accounts I had previously heard of him, I had a great curiosity to see, and this our first meeting by no means disappointed my expectations. We found him walking in his garden, and, as we approached, Salt said to him — "I beg, sir, to introduce to you my intimate friend Mr. Halls."

No reply followed this observation, which, I should have conceived, he did not hear, had it not been for one momentary glance, in which he seemed to survey my whole person. His eye, however, quickly reverted to its former station on the ground; but, as he advanced towards us, he muttered to himself—"Yes, that's a true Halls; I should have known him anywhere for one of the family by the lines in his face;"—then stretching forth his hand, he shook mine heartily, exclaiming, "Pray, sir, how do you do? I am most happy to see you at Lichfield." In person, and in some points of character, always excepting his habitual parsimony, he bore some resemblance to his son, though apparently cast by nature in a far more rugged mould.

After a short conversation we were taking our leave, when Salt observed that he should soon bring me again to dine with him. "No, no, Master Henry," he replied, "that will never do; I prepared an excellent dinner for your friend yesterday, and it was his own fault if he did not choose to come in time to partake of it."—"But, sir, the mail was full, and Mr. Halls could not get a place till last night."—"Very well, I can only say, he lost a good fillet of veal and some fine mackerel, which I had provided

for him, and I am not going to be served so again,"—a resolution to which he most pertinaciously adhered during the remainder of my stay, to the no small annoyance of his son. He, however, called upon me at his son-in-law's the next morning, was exceedingly civil, and amused me greatly for nearly an hour by the humorous and very original turn of his conversation.

On rising to take his leave, he shook hands with me, again congratulated me on my arrival, told me he thought "he had given me enough for one morning," but studiously avoided touching on the perilous subject of "dinner." The next morning he called upon me at the same hour, and this practice he repeated regularly every day till my departure; but still no hint of a dinner, though he afterwards told his son that he saw I had a turn for humour, and that he had taken a great liking to me. In fact, I believe he was heartily glad to see me as an intimate friend of his son's, but the business of life was nearly over with him, and the world seemed rapidly fading from his view. He lived alone, in a small house, with his housekeeper only, and had really put himself, as I was informed, so unusually out of his way to provide an entertainment for me on the expected day of my

arrival, and was so much vexed at my disappointing him, that he could not bring himself to attempt a second trial.

After visiting his father, Mr. Salt took me to wait upon the dean, who received me with much courtesy, and indeed, during the whole of my residence in the place, greatly contributed to my comfort and enjoyment by the friendliness and hospitality of his conduct. He entered with interest and clearness into the subject of my visit, and gave me many hints, of which I afterwards availed myself in the progress of the work which he then entrusted me to execute. I have recently learned with pleasure that this learned and excellent man still survives, and is in the enjoyment of his health and faculties, though now at a very advanced stage of existence. I know not whether his valuable life may be prolonged till these pages are before the public, but, should they ever meet his eye, I own it would gratify me to learn that he had perused this assurance of my grateful remembrance of his past attention and favour.*

During my stay at Lichfield the weather proved delightful, and Salt and I took many

* I have learned with regret that this excellent man died only a few weeks back.—E.

rambles together about the city and its environs; — we visited all the haunts of his childhood. From the thickets and hedgerows where he despoiled the bird of its nest, to the pool whence with mingled sensations of childish curiosity and alarm, he dragged the struggling frog, or the curling newt triumphantly to the shore. Then he led me to his favourite churchyard, in the vicinity of the city; pointed out to me the grave-stones with their inscriptions which had most attracted his youthful fancy, and occasionally related the past history of their silent inmates. One tomb in particular he made me notice, on which, when a boy, he used to lie stretched for hours in lonely contemplation; and it is indeed probable, that from these early associations arose the habitual feelings of respect and melancholy which I have uniformly seen him evince in after life, when wandering among the graves of a country churchyard, with which even he had been previously unacquainted.

From the nature of my occupation at Lichfield, we necessarily spent a good deal of time in the elegant and beautiful Cathedral which forms the leading ornament of the city, and Salt, as a native of the place, was exceedingly proud of the fabric, and took infinite pleasure in pointing

out every particular that was likely to prove interesting to a stranger—he dwelt with enthusiasm on the antiquity of the building, the interesting nature of its monuments, and the exquisite finish which distinguishes many portions of the structure, and, I really believe, would have sooner pardoned a personal injury than a word spoken in its disparagement. Among other things he pointed out to me what appeared a narrow and totally *unprotected* ridge, at least, I should conjecture, one hundred and twenty feet above the pavement of the cathedral, along which he used frequently, in his boyish days, to walk with no small degree of triumph and self-complacency, feeling pleased with the idea of performing a feat which few of his youthful associates had the hardihood to imitate. On one occasion, however, when in a careless mood, he was near repeating the experiment once too often, and narrowly escaped from inevitable destruction, through the timely assistance of some workmen employed on the spot.

When he related this adventure to me, while witnessing the dreadful height from which he might have been precipitated, a sickening sensation came over me which I was unable to control; yet it is probable that to these early exploits he

was indebted for the coolness and self-possession which subsequently rescued him from the more perilous situation which awaited him at the Tower, near Aden.

The period for my departure having arrived, I took leave of my friendly and hospitable hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Morgan, and in company with Salt returned to London. It was his intention soon after his arrival in town, to accept Mr. Murray's friendly invitation, and to proceed without delay to Scotland, but his business with the Foreign Office, as appears from the following letter, unfortunately compelled him to remain stationary.

FROM H. SALT, ESQ. TO THE REV. ALEX. MURRAY.

"London, August 1, 1811,
No. 17, Great Marlborough Street.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have from time to time deferred writing to you, from an impression that I should be able to accomplish my promised journey to Scotland, but at present I fear I shall be compelled to abandon it for the season, as I am obliged to stay in London to attend the commands of the Marquess Wellesley, who has given me to understand that he will in a short time see me, and

enter himself more fully into the subject of my mission. My regret is heightened by having met with a gentleman, with whom you are well acquainted, Mr. C. Douglas, who with kind attention offered me a third in his chaise to the neighbourhood of Urr, an opportunity which I should have been peculiarly glad to have accepted. As matters stand, I have taken the occasion to forward you a few Ethiopic manuscripts, which I am anxious to submit to your inspection. The best of them, as a specimen of elegant writing, is a copy of what I believe to be 'The Book of Enoch.' It is called by the Abyssinians 'The Book Yereed.' The other four are less curious, but at your leisure you may perhaps like to look into them, and your opinion of their contents will be exceedingly valuable to me.

"On a close inspection of the stone at Axum, on which is the Greek inscription which I gave in Lord Valentia's 'Travels,' I made out on the opposite side, the inclosed characters, which I conceive to be Ethiopic of about the same date as the Greek. One line only is entire. I shall feel obliged to you to try if you can make any sense of it. I also send you a copy of some characters, which I conceive to be still more

antient, and which I discovered among some ruins at Abba Arfer, about twelve miles from Adowa, which I believe have not been visited since the Portuguese were in the country. The ruins are well described by Alvarez in his valuable journal, extant in Ramusio and Purchase.

"By the by, have you studied this journal? It is, in my opinion, one of the best accounts we have from the 'Fathers,' and contains much geographical and other original information, rejecting, of course, the part appertaining to the contested question of religion. I wish much I could have seen you previously to your publishing the new edition of 'Bruce.' Pray let me know, when at leisure, how far it is advanced. There are one or two points to which I should like to call your attention, if it would not be too late.

"Believe me, my dear sir,
With much sincerity yours, &c.
HENRY SALT."

"P.S. The following manuscripts are entrusted to Mr. Douglas." * * *

"The Rev. Alexander Murray."

FROM THE REV. ALEX. MURRAY TO H. SALT, ESQ.

"Manse of Urr, August 29, 1811.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have just received your valuable parcel and letter of date August 1, from Mr. Douglas, and must express my regret that you have not found it convenient to make me happy by a visit to this place. We should have enlivened the natural sobriety of a poor but most welcome reception in the heart of an unlettered province, with many an inquiry, on my part, into the objects which have lately attracted your attention, and with a mutual zeal for pursuits that cannot be dishonourable to either of us.

"Since I wrote to you from Kinnaird, I have been informed by Mr. Constable that he saw you in London. As he has a share in the new edition of 'Bruce's Travels,' he would probably inform you that it is not yet gone to press. At Kinnaird I had a new and short opportunity of renewing my acquaintance with the Ethiopic MSS. there; and I am happy to add your name to the list of those who have enriched Europe with additional works in the Geez language. None of your MSS. are found at Kinnaird, except the extracts from the chronicles of Axum, which are there in the complete copy of the work itself.

"The early Kings of Abyssinia are, in a sense, entirely forgotten, at least their names only remain, and these neither correct nor genuine. The lists are, however, worth examination, as they contain any vestiges of the antient annals that remain in the country itself. I have actually run over them attentively, in order to get a note for the third edition of 'Bruce.' My success has not been great. Your inscription from Axum, and the work of Cosmas Indopleustes,* are valuable and almost unique materials, and had you nothing more on which to found your claim to the gratitude of the literary public, the monument of the victories of Aeizanas and Saiazanas would secure it for you. I am sorry that these names do not occur in the native lists, nor am I altogether prepared to adopt the hypothesis that these brothers were Abreha and Atsbeha, though I think it probable they were. My reasons are chiefly chronological. The era of the conversion of Abyssinia is, according to the native Chronicles, A. D. 330.

* "Your account of the Adulic inscription is, I think, every way just, excepting some identifications of places. It is certainly an Abyssinian monument. The Bougaeita are the Bejae, the Tokaens, the Taka of Bruce and others, also called Tangaitae."

The embassy of the Arrians, and the letter of Constantius to these potentates, are referred to A. D. 356. The difference is twenty-six years. The native lists say, that Abreha and Aṭsbeha reigned twenty-six years and six months, and that Abba Salâma (Frumentius) introduced Christianity in the thirteenth year of their reign. Your inscription shows that Aeizana was a pagan, consequently it belongs to thirteen years in the beginning of his reign, and the whole period of that reign would therefore be thirty-nine rather than twenty-six or twenty-seven years. Still, your hypothesis in vol. iii. p. 247, is tenable, for it is a fact realized in the case of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, that the pagan style was preserved in his coins &c. almost till his death. I could deduce many conclusions of considerable value, some indeed highly interesting, from the facts in your inscription, but this is not the proper place for them, and I hope to have a better opportunity.

"I have read since I returned from Edinburgh, Viscount Valentia's 'Travels,' and, I may say, with very particular attention. Your part of the work, which I assure you was most interesting to me, I have absolutely studied. I should not choose to praise it to yourself, were

I not convinced that the prosecution of your travels in Abyssinia would be really the means of enlarging our knowledge of the African continent, and, I firmly believe, of benefiting the country, and the cause of mankind.

"I enter very far into the views entertained by the Viscount and yourself respecting the advantages of a permanent intercourse with Habbesh. The natives are Christians, and in much need of intercourse with such a nation as the British, which could help to restore knowledge and tranquillity among them, and preserve them from falling into perfect barbarism. They are by no means a dull or stupid generation. For many centuries they have sought, not priests, but arts and sciences, from Europe, (see Ludolf's Histor. l. iv. c. 5;) and this most rational of all requests has been neglected. A very little aid would make Welda Selassé governor of the whole country, and dispel the armies of wild Galla that have overrun Begemder and Gojam, not to mention Amhâra. Though the produce of Habbesh itself be not very valuable, the trade from the heart of Africa evidently is so; and from Abyssinia the route into the interior is short and direct. Even the Galla, who are half naturalised in Abyssinia,

might be made instrumental in conducting a traveller into the heart of Africa, by advancing over the Abawi west or south-west, or south. It would be highly honourable for this country to prosecute the discovery of Africa. A nation that encourages undertakings of that kind does benefit to the whole human race; for civilization, which is so much wanted in many parts of the world, cannot be imparted without knowledge of the situation and circumstances of distant regions. A survey of Africa, in respect of geography, political state, number of tribes, and languages, would be a glorious acquisition to the student of mankind.

"By calling forth the energies of the African Christians, and showing them their true interests, the British nation might, at a trifling expense, purchase a new and large commercial channel, by which the manufactures of this country would reach the hands of the inland tribes, and the independent states that have not been corrupted with Mahometanism.

"Under sensible management all this is quite practicable. I must return, however, to the subject of your MSS. The short account of the Ras's war with the Galla, I have read with much avidity and pain. These wretches have been

suffered to intrude themselves into Begemder and Samen. I apprehend that Amhâra is fully theirs. I suspect that they have united themselves with the Galla, once under Fasil, in Gojam. I cannot otherwise account for Guésha's prevalence at Gondar, which it appears is of considerable standing. This short MS. is incomplete, as it concerns only one campaign. It is written in the style of the Chronicle of Ras Michael, found in Bruce's MSS. and, I am sorry to say, contains not so many facts as praises.

"The extracts from the Chronicles at Axum contain the ordinary list given of the Kings, which unfortunately comes no lower than Yōas, who was murdered, by Ras Michael, in 1769. I have been at a loss in ascertaining the true names of the Kings that are mentioned in your journal, for, as they are taken there from oral communication, they appear not to the same advantage as in the native orthography. In the MS. Book of Prayers, some late possessor has written the names of some of the fugitive sovereigns of Habbesh opposite to the calendar for the epact, &c. The MS. itself is probably more than a century old, but some recent pen has written on it:—'Negus Sulomân; Negus Tecla Guirgis; Negus Yasou;' and some others, with-

out regard to order. There can be no doubt of the accuracy of the account presented to you by Lik-cahenate Metsha; I only regret that you did not ask it in a written form. A chronicle of the proceedings since the battle of Fagittâ would be a great curiosity. I have been able to learn the true title of the present monarch from the very curious translation of the Patriarch's instructions, which towards the end has this passage:—'This letter was written in the year 1525 of the pure martyrs, in the time of Matthew (while that Gospel was reading in the churches;) on the 9th of the month Tekemp it was begun, on the 16th it was finished. And Georgis the Copt translated it from the Arabic tongue into Géez, by the will of the head, or chief, of the governors (Rĕĕsă Mecwônĕnĕt), Weldă Selâssé, and in the reign of our King Ęgwâlă Sion—the child or offspring of Sion. —Abreha and Atsbeha were called Egwâla Ambăsă—offspring of the lion.'

"If you should incline to revisit Habbesh, which I trust the scientific character of our Government will enable you to do in a style worthy of the greatest and most enlightened nation in Europe, we shall have it in our common power to write to the Ras and to Negus Negustĕ

Egŵala Sion, not through the medium of an Arab scribe. There is Geez enough in Britain to impart to these personages anything that requires to be said to them. I forget whether I mentioned to you formerly that I had taken a copy of the Song of Solomon in Amhâric, from Bruce's MSS., and of his Amhâric vocabulary, which, along with Ludolf's Amhâric grammar and dictionary, might be of real service to a traveller going to Gondar.

"As an editor of Bruce, I have paid great attention to the charges made against him in the Travels by your friend the Viscount. Before I proceed farther, I may hint that Lord Valentia has rather displayed a kind of ostentatious and triumphant pride in conquering Bruce, which resembles that species of glory which the Abyssinian soldiers show when they brandish their spears over the head of the Ras, and throw down the trophies taken from the enemy. Now this is not good. It makes ignorant people think that Bruce had no merit. It hurts Lord Valentia in the minds of thinking people, who smile at his victory over Bruce, whom he treats as a foe ever to be distrusted; inhuman, false, and worthy of all punishment. This is the very fault which Bruce possessed with respect to Padre

Paez, the Jesuits, &c. Mr. Bruce worries his predecessors, Mr. Brown, who has many singularities, worries Mr. Bruce, and Viscount Valentia joins in the same cry. I foresee with true dissatisfaction the same fate abiding the Viscount. I look with much more pleasure to your own mode of confuting Mr. Bruce. You put down hard facts and proclaim no victory.

"The writer in the Monthly Magazine, December 1807, quoted by Viscount Valentia, vol. iii. p. 283, is Malcolm Laing, Esq. M.P. for Orkney, the well-known author of the History of Scotland, a gentleman of the first abilities as a philosopher and historian. While I was editing Bruce in 1804-5, and he was engaged in publishing his detection of Macpherson, in the business of Ossian, we had several conversations on the general and particular merits of Bruce's Travels. He saw several inconsistencies in them which required explanation. I mentioned to him that Bruce certainly was not infallible in many respects; that though his book was valuable and curious, he had made it up very carelessly, and above all had indulged in a vein of romance, on some occasions, which debased the intrinsic merits of his performance. That, as I was appointed by his family and my friends to

examine his papers, it could not be expected that I should write a commentary of the most disagreeable kind on the work; that, however, I did not judge it to be for the interests of truth and science to conceal absolutely the defects of a celebrated book. As I had perused the Journals with attention, I saw a variety of things stated in the book with too little regard to fact.

"I privately mentioned the principal of these to Mr. Laing, and I believe he once thought of reviewing Bruce; an intention which he afterwards abandoned, but sent his remarks without his name to the magazine. I might add to these remarks, if it were consistent with that delicacy which I owe to the feelings of Mr. Bruce's friends, I mean his relations, some of whom would think it mean in me to expose, however justly, his memory, which I certainly respect. I have that opinion of your candour to believe that a refutation of Bruce's narrative, in any part whatever, would not lead you to parade your own discoveries, so much as it would prompt you to enlarge, by native industry and adventure, the bounds of true knowledge. You have already extended them. I wish to see your merit warmly patronised. We may yet owe to your pen a true and faithful account of the

east of Africa, and to your charming pencil that very just portrait of nature and man which is itself the essence of instruction.

"Should it materially contribute to your views, I can give you, in confidence, a full and accurate statement of those parts of Mr. Bruce's Narrative which are unsound, or suspected; as however this might somehow, or other, find its way into print without the desire of either of us, and in a very offensive form, I could wish it to be delivered in conversation rather than by letter. The demand for Mr. Bruce's book arises from the curiosity excited by the subject, the amusing style of his adventures, and the fact that it is the best account of Habbesh and Nubia that we have. He is not accurate in some of his observations, and some of his adventures are fictitious. We owe much to the curiosity which he has awakened, and the MSS. which he collected. But complete use has not yet been made of his MSS. for want of permission and of literature. If I had them in my possession, for six months, I could give, I believe, a better history of Habbesh than that contained in the second volume of the Travels. I studied the Journal of Alvarez in Ramusio when engaged in the second edition of Bruce. It is highly valuable, because his

route lay through the country, now in the hands of the Galla, as far as Hawash. He saw the court before the Mahometan war which desolated Abyssinia. His narrative is excellent. His descriptions are better than those of the late Portuguese. But taking theirs all together, they contain a large body of true and curious information. Lobo is one of the worst of them, yet often very instructive. Bruce borrowed from Tellez in a most extravagant degree. And the defect of his annals is this: you never can say when he copies his Abyssinian and when his European materials; unless you have these books before you. The defect of the narrative of Alvarez and the Jesuits is a certain inattention to geography and dates, added to a very incorrect way of writing names, so that you never see the *vera facies historiæ*. This created much trouble to Ludolf, as you will see by his rectifications of their orthography, &c. I may insinuate that in this last particular your valuable Journal is in some degree deficient, as the names of men, offices and places are written from oral communication. We are, however, too much indebted to you for it to deal in minor criticisms.

"Though Bruce lived for months at Emfras,

his map wants many of the places in and about Gondar; such as Dancaz, Gorgora, Coga, &c. which were formerly all royal residences. Ibaba, the second city in Habbesh, he totally omits. The route in the south-east of Habbesh is almost entirely from the Jesuits or Alvarez. Indeed, his map (for I know its history) was made with so little care, that the process was incredibly ridiculous. When he composed that and his Travels, he was become old and indolent, and I have good reason to believe that, after nearly twenty years had elapsed (the time between 1773 and 1793), his tale to his amanuensis resembled more that of an old veteran by his parlour fire in a winter evening, than the result of fresh and accurate observation. He wished to have it understood that he had omitted nothing when he travelled; but performed all: a species of ambition which is seldom reconcilable with fact. I have reason to think that the accounts you had from the Abyssinians about his preferments are true enough; I can detect some mistakes in their statements, but not many. He was much patronised by the Iteghé, Ozoro Esther, and the King, and might have had some nominal appointment, but * * * * * †.

† These stars are in the original letter.—E.

If you could have seen Negus Tecla Georgis at Waldubba, you could have got the whole truth and nothing more. Bruce was at one of the battles of Serbraxos, but not at all the engagements near that place. I cannot say more on these subjects without impressing you with a false idea of his work, which might mislead rather than inform you. The important object of all travelling and reading is to learn truth, not to discredit it by extraneous presumptions.

"I have forgot hitherto to take notice of your larger MS. The thickest one is from beginning to end a collection of hymns, or chaunted prayers, ritually used in Habbesh. It is called the Psalter of Yaréd, a celebrated Bishop, or Abuna, of Axum, who lived in the reign of Gebra Mascal, son of Caleb Negus. There is much about Yaréd in the Chronicle of Axum. This extract is from your excerpta. 'Caleb begot Gebra Mascal, in whose days Yaréd composed the book of hymns, and built Damo,' i. e. the well-known church on that hill in Tigré. This collection, though not historically valuable, puts us in possession of an admired, and, in some places, agreeable book. It is all interlined with their rude musical notations. The leaf fronting the first page bears the in-

scription, 'This hymn-book, Welleta Michael and Welleta Gabriel gave to Adowa Sion, that it might be a memorial for them in the kingdom of heaven.' These ladies, I am convinced, were the wife and daughter of Ras Michael. Adowa Sion is the true name of the church and town of Adowa. The other MS. is old; it contains a few prayers in excellent penmanship, a treatise on calculating the epact, tables on that subject, and some chronological tables, or rather lists. The chronology of the Abyssinians is very confused. This work may, I think, illustrate it, for it seems to be written with care and attention. It bears to be a translation from the Coptic.

"The patriarch's instructions are very curious, as they contain what must be reckoned the newest or best form of Abyssinian orthodoxy. It is superfluous to say, that the subject is worthy attention merely in order to learn the state of their disputes. The controversy about the two natures in Jesus Christ is very old and absurd. If we believe in Christ, it is sufficient without investigation into such mysteries. The Abyssinian church is literally the Greek, or Alexandrian, in discipline and doctrines. I believe you have committed a trifling error in your Journal,

when you say that Guxo has been supported by Abba Eustathios and Abba Tecla Haimanout. These are not individuals, but two classes of monks, like the Benedictines and Franciscans. They divide Abyssinia. In discord they are demons, united they are the devil. Our nation ought not to trouble itself with their disputes, excepting always the oblique intention of diffusing literature and knowledge.

"I have exhausted you and my paper with this tedious epistle. But the arrival of your MSS. an occurrence for which I give you many thanks, has not supplied the means of telling you all I feel and wish on the late, and, I trust, future subject of your travels. As I have been employed in professional duties, I have not had time to peruse the MSS. carefully. I will by and by give you a fuller account of them, and preserve them safe, till you call for them in any way you think best. The Marquess Wellesley will, I hope, conduct you on to fame, and to the service of his country, which is greatly indebted to him for his attention to oriental knowledge. After all that is said about men and measures, the man whose memory lives longest is he who promotes the arts and sciences. The glory connected

with these is permanent. Of all the ministers of Louis XIV. Colbert alone is immortal. This maxim is indeed trite, but no statesman should forget it.

"Anything which I can do for your amusement, or service, command in a moment, and I shall be proud to perform it. I feel sensibly the distance between us, and can only hope that an opportunity of your coming to Scotland may occur, if not this season, at least next spring. If the study of northern, western, and southern literature were not barren of all emolument, so much so indeed as to make its votaries dependant upon more contracted pursuits, I should soon have the happiness of saluting you in the metropolis. But this is impracticable in my present situation here. In about a fortnight hence, I go into Edinburgh to give Mr. Constable the edition of Bruce for the press. After what I have said above, any private doubt you may have about Bruce I can resolve, at least I can give you the satisfaction that arises from having seen the original papers. I have extracted from Balugani's Journal the route from Arkeeko to Dixan, and the passage about Dahalac, but I have not yet compared these

with the printed work and your account. Be pleased to write to me as soon as convenient, and believe me to be very truly and affectionately,

" Dear Sir,

" Your friend and well-wisher,

" ALEX. MURRAY."

" P.S. The inscriptions I have not had time to consider carefully. They are very curious, as specimens of the alphabet, but I fear are too mutilated to be very intelligible. I will not neglect them, I do assure you."

" To Henry Salt, Esq."

CHAPTER XII.

Salt's illness.—Visits Bath without receiving the expected benefit.—Letter to the Author.—Salt, though still labouring under bodily infirmity, arranges his papers and prepares the materials for his Journal.—Continuation of his Correpondence with Mr. Murray.

About the time of his receiving the above letter, Mr. Salt was attacked by an apparently slight ulceration of the tongue, which at first was thought to be of no importance; it however continued to spread till it extended over a considerable portion of the organ, and occasioned him some uneasiness. During the progress of the disease, he had had the benefit of some of the best medical advice which the metropolis could furnish; but the complaint rather gaining ground, he was recommended to change the air, and he accordingly set off for Bath on a visit to his brother Charles, then practising as a surgeon in that city, and to his sister the Countess de Vismes, who also at that period, I believe, was resident in the place. Here he

remained for a month or two, but apparently without receiving much benefit, as I find by a letter I received from him in the beginning of November 1811, that he was still very unwell.

"I leave this place," he adds, "on Monday, as I have taken my place in the two days' stage, which might with more propriety be termed the hospital coach. I shall reach town on Tuesday afternoon, in time, I hope, to take a mutton chop with you; but do not wait, as I am not sure of the precise time when the vehicle will arrive in London. I am most anxious to see Lord Valentia,† or otherwise should not at present have moved. * * * I have finished, with extraordinary industry, my job for the African Association, and am now ready to undertake my own work. Kindest compliments to Lord Valentia, if you see him before my arrival. Best regards to Tom.

"Your's most truly,

H. SALT."

He remained in an extremely indifferent state of health for some time after his arrival in town,

† His lordship had been absent for about two years on an excursion to Sicily, &c. and did not return till some time after Salt's arrival in England.

when his complaints became somewhat mitigated.* During this period he was busily employed in arranging his papers, and in preparing the materials for his Journal. In February 1812 he renewed his correspondence with Mr. Murray, which illness had obliged him to suspend for some months previously: his spirits and energies being generally a good deal depressed when labouring under bodily infirmity.

FROM H. SALT, ESQ. TO THE REV. ALEX. MURRAY.

"London, Feb. 7th, 1812.
17, Great Marlborough Street.

"DEAR SIR,

"Having been absent from town for some months at Bath, on account of ill health, I have not been able to answer your last letter sooner, as I was unwilling to tax you with so large a packet as the various subjects, on which I wished to address you, would have induced me to write.

"Your letter, believe me, gave me singular pleasure, as there runs throughout it a vein of friendship and open confidence which accords most truly with my own feelings towards you, and I regret extremely that, for the present, our friendship cannot be drawn closer by per-

* In addition to his other complaint, he had been afflicted with an abscess which confined him several months.

sonal communication, as I have many things to mention which cannot be satisfactorily stated upon paper. I must confess that it is highly gratifying to me to find that you and Dr. Vincent admit my conjectures concerning the Adulic inscription to be right. It came to my mind with such irresistible conviction, at the time of my studying the question, that I have always felt confident in my position. It is still most gratifying to have this allowed by those who are best qualified to judge on the subject. Your chronological objection to the hypothesis of Aeizana and Saizana being Abraha and Atzbeha did not, at first reading, appear to me a strong one; but on taking up the question with Ludolf, Bruce, &c. before me, with intent to answer it, I found it baffled me, and that there is no solid foundation for such an hypothesis having been raised. It appears to me that my Αιζανᾶς - Σαιαζανᾶς καὶ Ἄδηφαι — and consequently those to whom Constantine addressed his letter, were the three successors of Abraha and Atzbeha, called in Ludolf, Atzfa, Atzfed, and Amy,—and by Bruce, Asfeha, Asphad, and Amzi,—which would make the Roman and Abyssinian accounts chronologically agree. This conclusion I am led to chiefly by the mention

of three brothers in both accounts, which in my inscription stand thus: AEIZANAC. CAIAZANAC "AAHΦAI. Now the latter name we could never before make anything of; yet with a slight alteration as thus AAECΦAI (Adespha), a mistake which is exceedingly likely to have been made, and which did actually occur in another part of the inscription, it answers most singularly with 'Atzfa' in the Abyssinian list. In Ogilvie's Africa, is given a list of the Abyssinian Kings, I know not on what authority, in which the three successors of Abraha and Asbeha are called, Asfa, Sahat, and Adaphana, in which three words, I cannot but suspect, we have the origin of the Greek appellations. This correction would carry the Pagan reckoning considerably later down than the alleged conversion by Frumentius, which is an objection that requires farther consideration, but which I cannot enter into without referring to St. Athanasius, and other authors I have not by me.

"One of the subjects to which I wish particularly to call your attention, respects that very valuable fragment of the Abyssinian annals—the reign of Amda Sion. The narrative of this reign Bruce did not certainly understand—chiefly from want of geographical knowledge,

and from a fanciful theory he had got in his head about Tarshish, which have led him to carry the expeditions undertaken by the King to an extent inconceivably out of bounds. If you will look at the map made to illustrate the track of Solomon's fleet, and give the following extracts your consideration, you will see at once the errors he has fallen into. Amda Sion kept his Easter at Gaza in Dawaro (vide page 56, vol. iii. Bruce, Murray's edition), on the verge of the Samhar (which I can show was in about 11° north latitude), and Hadea and Fatigar on the southern side of the Hawash,* were, during this time, beat by another part of the King's forces; on which he, by advice, marched southward to Efat, and the two armies joined on (by) the river Hawash (p. 58). Here, learning that Mara and Adel were in pursuit of him, he returned northward, beat them, and went back in June to Gaza (p. 62). On the 13th of June, finding the enemy troublesome (p. 63), he made another excursion into the Samhar, and on the 28th of June approached near to Mara (which is

* The Hawash, instead of running towards Berbera as is put in the charts, runs in a line for the bay of Tajowra, and is lost at Houssa, or Aussa, about three days' journey from that place.

still to the north of the river Hawash). Early in July he passed the Yasso (perhaps the Han-Azo) (p. 66), and soon after advanced a day's march to Dassi in Mara, about, we will say, the 5th of July, when he was seized with a fever. On the ninth day the fever abated (p. 70), which brings us to July 14th, when he sent out to procure venison. Some of the hunters roving four days (July 18th) from the camp (p. 71), fell in with a part of the Moorish army, and returned in haste, July 21st. The King, in consequence, sent horsemen out to reconnoitre, who returned, bringing a confirmation of the account. (This must have been about the 25th of July at least.) On hearing the news, the King proceeded by slow marches (p. 73) to meet the enemy, 'who had not advanced.' Reckoning for this march five days, it brings it to the 30th of July. On the next day a battle ensued (p. 74-5.)

"It could not be earlier than the 2nd of August that he marched in and took Zeyla, Taraca, &c. On the 10th of July, Bruce continues (p. 80), 'the King pursued his march to Darbé.' Now this statement must be wrong, supposing the 10th of August is meant, and it allows only one month from passing the Yasso, and only nine days from the great battle in Mara,

for resting, marching to Zeyla, &c. for the taking of Taraca, &c. This decisively points out Mara to have been at no great distance from Gaza, and only a few days' march from Zeyla, which the whole tenor of the history, and the repeated mention of it in the subsequent wars (vide pp. 161-166, &c.) prove to be the same as the modern town of that name, which I have now ascertained to be situated on a peninsula, and which still keeps up a continual intercourse with the independent provinces of Shoa and Efat through Arar, now termed Hurrar, which still flourishes, and which gave birth to the Maffudi and Gragné. Now Bruce erroneously supposing Zeyla to be on an island, could not possibly conceive how it could be taken by an Abyssinian army, and therefore invents another Zeyla, with his usual facility of getting over difficulties, and places it many degrees to the south, as you will observe, between his rivers Yass and Aco.

"It appears to me, as in the case of the exploits narrated in the Adulic inscription, that the whole wants contracting. This, I think, we shall jointly be able to manage when, at some future time, I shall be able to visit you with my maps and manuscript remarks, which gain much

confirmation from many of the original notes given by you in Appendix No. I. to Books 7 and 8. Bruce, as you have noticed, vol. ii. p. 435, confounds Abreha, who reigned with Atzbeha, with Abreha-el-Ashram, who fought the battle of the Elephants, and is altogether very confused in this part of his narrative. Yet there is one observation which he makes there, that has strongly excited my attention, and which it is not unlikely you may be able to illustrate. (Page 436) he says:—'In the reigns of Abreha and Atzbeha the Abyssinian annals mention an expedition to have been undertaken into the farthest parts of Yemen.' Now, is this simple assertion *à la Bruce*, or does it exist in the annals? If it should be in the annals, it would certainly apply to the expedition mentioned in the Adulic inscription, and be a most valuable confirmation of it.

"There is an important error in Bruce's statement about Alvarez's journal, which is extended to his map, and which you do not seem to have detected. It is, that the Portuguese (p. 176, vol. iii.) 'joined the King about twenty-five miles from the fair of Adel, and less than two hundred miles from Zeyla, on the 16th of October 1520.' Now, this did not take place till their third visit

to court, in 1523. Again he says, that 'five years passed in the embassy, during which Alvarez does not, excepting the Epiphany, mention one remarkable occurrence.' The following extract of the journal, as it stands in Ramusio, will prove the contrary.

"In April 1520 the Portuguese entered Abyssinia, from which time we have a regular journal until they reached the King's court at Tahagun, five days from Debra-Libanos in Nov. 1520.—'In Jan. 1521, having completed their mission, they set out on their return, in company with the King, by the way of Jannimora, leaving a letter to the King Emanuel, still extant, dated Jan. 1521. After leaving the King, they went on to Baruna; but the expected ships not arriving in April, they were ordered by the King to Axum, where they made a long stay, at least eight months. After the rains, about October, they again went to the King, and in April 1523 they were residing with him in the country of the Goragues. There they heard, by letter, from Luez Mendez, who had arrived on the coast, of the death of King Emanuel, who died September 1522. In consequence, they went up to Massowa, but, being too late for the ships, they returned in November 1523, and found the King in Fatigan,

near the first fair of Adel. Thence they accompanied him to Shoa, and subsequently were much delayed at Dara, and here passed the Lent of 1524. In the March of that year they received fresh despatches from the King to John the Third of Portugal, which are extant, and proceeded with them and Zaga Lobo, a native embassador, to Barua; but the ships expected did not arrive, and they were again sent to Axum. About September 1524, they went again to court, and found the King in Adea, and stayed with him till February 1525, when they finally left him at Aysa (Haussa.) In April they were again at Baruá, but no ships arrived, on which they joined their friends at Axum. After the rains they went and collected tribute, allowed them in Bugana (or Lasta). In January 1526, they went again to the coast, and left it in April of that year for India.'

"It is essential to observe, that this journal in Ramusio was given him by Damianus a Goez, which does away *in toto* Bruce's objection to the narrative (p. 174, vol. iii.) Your opinion altogether of Bruce is so much my own, that I see we shall not differ much on that subject. You certainly go full as far as I do in your strictures on him, though you do not perhaps feel so

strongly the consequence of his defects. I must now draw to a conclusion, but I will first give you a little of the latest news from Abyssinia, which may interest.

"On Saturday last I received letters from the two Englishmen I left there, and a short Ethiopic letter from the Ras. It appears by the former letters, that affairs are going on worse, as is natural to expect from the increasing age of the Ras. In consequence, my two protegés talk of leaving the country sometime in the course of this year, and of returning by Egypt. As one of them, Coffin, has before this been to Gondar, and the other, Pearce, to the south, into Shoa, we may expect some curious information, if they succeed in getting safe back. They have also given me two distinct accounts, received by the Shoa Cafilas, of some white man approaching Efat from the interior, whom they suppose to be Mungo Park.* It is more likely to be Horneman, or Mr. Cowen, who left the Cape some five or six years ago; in either case it will prove very important. I have sent you the Ras's letter, and will thank you for it back,

* This person was afterwards discovered to be a Turkish merchant, who had gone to Shoa with goods from Zeyla. —E.

with a translation. I have dipped into it myself, and it appears to me a mere farrago of *salams* to the King, &c.

"I will thank you, as before, to direct to me at the Foreign Office.

"Believe me to be,
My dear sir,
Yours very sincerely,
HENRY SALT."

"P.S. I must defer speaking about the manuscripts till another time.

"Rev. Alexander Murray."

FROM THE REV. ALEX. MURRAY TO H. SALT, ESQ.

"Manse of Urr, Feb. 25, 1812.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have been exceedingly gratified by receiving your long, but most instructive letter, and have to regret that my avocations have prevented me from answering it immediately. You may believe me, that I take a very high interest in your former and present inquiries, that I am much pleased with the honour of being your correspondent, and extremely sensible of the great services which you have already done to literature, and of the important ends which

your exertions may in time accomplish. I am concerned to hear that your health has been indifferent. I trust that it is improved by your residence at Bath, though there are complaints too many which 'Bath and all her waters' cannot mitigate. I have had an asthmatic winter, and had not covetousness been prohibited in the Decalogue, I fancy I should have frequently wished for the *mine* of health in the possession of some of my brother churchmen, from which, I do assure you, I should have been bold enough to carve a portion for us both. As for the literary part of your letter, I have run over the topics with attention, but have not found time to investigate them completely. I cannot claim much ability to decide on several of the subjects. I am convinced that your opinion as to the Adulic inscription is highly probable, if not certain. I only regret that I have by me not the whole, but an extract from it. The supposition that it was made by a Ptolemy is totally inadmissible; the strong passages of which you have availed yourself, prove the very contrary. In fact, the wars against the Taka, or Tangaitae, and others beyond the Nile, which, I suspect, was the Tacazi, all show the proper frontiers of the kingdom of Axum, and of the Homerites.

Indeed, the suspicion is certainly in my mind, for the words Σεμήνε ἔθνος πέραν τοῦ Νείλου ἐν δυσβάτοις καὶ χιονώδεσιν ὄρεσιν, can apply to none but Samen. Cosmas says, in one place, that the King of the Axomites sends exiles to Samen, a cold snowy place, and that he (Cosmas) wrote these things in order to show that Ptolemy knew these places. The Scolia, p. 143, of Cosmas, in Montfaucon's 'Collectio Nova Patrum,' say, that Lazine Zaa and Gabala are called so still. The indications of Cosmas in the sixth century (he wrote about A.D. 535, twenty-five years after the expedition of Elesbaans, or, as he also writes it, Ἐλλατζ βάς, against the Homerites: Elatzbas is evidently El Atsbeha) plainly assure me that the Adulic inscription is nearly of the age or century of Cosmas himself, not of Ptolemy. A critical essay on the work of Cosmas would, I think, be of use to literature, especially since the discovery of your own most valuable monument at Axum. The name of Atsbeha, or El-Atsbeha, was probably the real name of Caleb, for the proper name of the sovereign has for many ages struggled for remembrance with his name of consecration in Abyssinia.

"One thing is worthy of remark, the Arabic article Al, or El, stands before the names of

several of the Abyssinian sovereigns in the ancient list, though it be long since obsolete in the Geez: a circumstance which induced Mr. Ludolf, rather hastily, to reject the ancient Catalogues as fictitious and unauthentic. I fear that they are very inaccurate, but I believe them to be partly genuine. When at Kinnaird, I made extracts from those in the Appendix to the 'Book of Axum,' from which the common copies in chronicles are generally transcribed. Your extracts have one of these lists. There are, however, several, and on comparing them, I see the successors of El-Abreha and El-Atsbeha, the asserted founders of Axum, and first converts to Christianity, to be — አስፈሐ, Asfāhă or Asfâ; አርፋድ, Arfâdĕ; አምሲ, Amsi; ሰላአደባ, Saladôba or Sĕladōba; አለሜደ, Alĕmêda, in whose reign came the nine saints from Romia (Constantinople) and Egypt, and regulated, (the word is አስተራትዕ : ሃደማኖተ, regulated, or set right)—Abba Alef, Abba Tschamâ, Abba Aragawi, otherwise Za-Michael, Abba Afâtsé, Abba Garimâ, Abba Pantaleon, Abba Licianos, Abba Gubâ, and Abba Imota. To Alemêda succeeded ታዜና, Tazènâ; to him, Caleb, who gave up the kingdom (turned monk.) His son was Gebra Mascal, in whose days Yared composed

the book of hymns called ድጓ, Dĕgwa (the MS. volume which you brought from Abyssinia.) Another list, instead of Seladôba, has ኤልዓድባ, El-Adôba. The lists also assert, that El-Abreha and Atsbeha reigned twenty-six years and six months; that Abba Salama and Christianity came in their thirteenth year, and that the year of Christianity was A.D. 333.

"As to the names of Ludolf's list, it is not accurate; the successor of Abreha and አጽበሐ was called አስፈሐ, Asĕfâh or Asfa, not Atzfa. Bruce's Asfeha is not very correct. I cannot speak to the writing in the inscription, but I am inclined to think that the name Asfâ would have been written in Greek, ACεΦAC, or Ἀσεφάς, perhaps Ἀσφᾶς. It would destroy the chronology altogether to suppose that El-Adōba was the general of Aeizanās; yet that is surely the name, a circumstance of little importance, considering the community of names in those later ages. The name Azèna, or Ἀεἰζανᾶς, is not Geez, but old Arabic. I have not 'Pocokii Historia Arabum' near me, but I faintly remember some such title in that work, in the catalogue of the sovereigns or viceroys of Yemen. The Bāzen was, I think, the ordinary title of a governor or viceroy of Yemen. The names

T-azèna, B-azèna, are all connected with Azena. The *t* and *b* I know to be servile, or prepositional terms, as is likewise *s* in S-aizana, and S-al-Adoba; indeed, S-aizana means, 'belonging to Aizana,' and S-al-Adōba, is 'of, or pertaining to Adōba.' Adōba is the Greek Adêfa; but I maintain the identity of the names, not of the sovereigns.

"Abreha and Atsbeha were, it is said in the Chronicles, baptized by Abba Salama, or Fremonatios (Frumentius.) Probably their successors were hardly Christian, until the arrival of the nine monks from Egypt. Cabeb was, indeed, Christian, but we have but a scanty account of his predecessors, and nothing as to the duration of their reigns, from the time of the first Christian Kings. It is certain, that the heroes of your inscription reigned at the time when the letter was written to persuade them to favour Arianism; and this fact is of primary consequence, whatever defects may be in the Abyssinian lists. I cannot give any account of the authenticity of the list in Ogilvie; I fear that it is an erroneous transcript from some Portuguese catalogue, indifferently made at first, and loaden with new errors, from ignorance of Portuguese orthography and circumstance, which

deforms the extracts, by the learned, from Tellés, not to mention the earlier narratives. The work of Tellés is correct as to orthography, but he who studies Abyssinian history in the Portuguese works, must have a wary eye on the peculiarities of their thought and writing.

"As for Bruce's assertion respecting the expedition into Yemen, under Abreha and Atsbeha, I never saw any account of that kind in the annals. He confounds the first Abreha with one who invaded Arabia some time before the birth of Mahomet. All the Arabic histories are full of the history of El-Ashram, which is mentioned in the Korân, and of the punishment of the Jewish King of Yemen, who threw the Christians into fiery pits. The Axomites were undoubtedly Hamyarites, and at times undertook expeditions to the Arabian coast, over which they held, for a long period, a kind of supremacy. But the early expedition alluded to by Bruce, rose, as far as I know, from his own mistake. When I read over that part of his work, with a view to the second edition, I saw a variety of wild hypotheses, and incorrect or vague statements, which it would have required perpetual annotation to correct. As nothing is more ungracious than to have the notes at

perpetual war with the text, I allowed these matters to pass unnoticed by *me*. The great mass of useful and amusing information in the book might have suffered more from my corrections than the value of these would have compensated.

"I observe that you have paid great attention to the geography and history of the S.E. of Abyssinia. In that department you will find little assistance from Mr. Bruce's work. His map was laid down with shameful inaccuracy in respect of places that he knew much better than Ifat, Hadea, and Fatigar. When I examined the map, I saw that nothing could be done but by constructing it anew. Mr. Dalrymple, the King's hydrographer, told his son, in a letter which I have, that it was extremely difficult to correct one chart by another. If I had made a new map on existing materials, the public would have paid little regard to it. As to the translation of the Abyssinian history, it is throughout very vague and uncertain. The bulk of the facts are true, but they are often misplaced in time and local circumstance; the Portuguese and Abyssinian accounts are blended together, and the whole does not merit the title of an accurate narrative. Bruce often committed

blunders in an unconscious way, particularly as to classic quotations and minute facts of antient history, which he was not qualified by literary habits, to balance and collate.

"The history of Amda Sion is sufficiently curious, but it is metamorphosed in Bruce. I took a considerable number of notes and abstracts from the MS. but I have not a complete series of the facts of that reign. I have a large mass of extracts as to the other reigns, which I made, not so much with a view to correct Bruce, which I had not authority to do in a proper manner, and which, in fact, I could not have done to my mind without writing the whole anew, but for the purpose of possessing the facts contained in so curious a collection of native chronicles. I tried only one experiment on the public; I withdrew a very fabulous and absurd life of Bacuffa, the King who was father of Yasou II. and substituted one of my own, from a prolix MS. of his actions in the list of native chronicles. Mr. Bruce had asserted that he was a prince of such terrible cruelty that no man durst have kept a journal of his transactions. He was a sanguinary prince, but he had a favourite historiographer, who has recorded his stern

achievements, which resemble those of the Emperors of Morocco.

"The reviewers blamed me for this attempt on the text of the Travels, and I am happy that I did not give them more cause of offence. The mistakes you mention in the account of the Portuguese embassy are probable enough. I did not observe them at the time of preparing the edition, though I had Ramusio beside me. The cause was, that I was weary of tracing errors in a second-hand narrative, drawn from sources that might be consulted by themselves. Above all, the perpetual tenor of correction, which Mr. Bruce's theories and narratives seemed to require, appeared to me to be a task of too great extent for the foot of a page, and more likely to prejudice than instruct the reader. In the edition that is now going forward, which is almost a reprint, I have given from the journals a view of his *real* travels in Egypt and Abyssinia. This is sufficiently adventurous in any editor. The voyage to the Emerald Isle, to the N.E. of the Red Sea, and that to Babelmandeb, do not appear in these journals, and the dates are quite contrary to their existence. Let not this yield an inglorious triumph to your

Right Honourable friend Valentia, who is too severe upon Bruce, his, or rather your, predecessor in travel and danger. Mr. Bruce's work contains much fact, amusement, and agreeable observation, not unseasoned with genius, nor obtained without hazard, but too much tinged with vanity. You must not depend on his account of the Adéline war. The best correction on his history would be, an account of Abyssinia compiled from all existing sources, of which the Kinnaird MSS. are one of the most considerable. I regret that these are not in the hands of the public, but locked up from those who can read them, and those who would learn to read them.

"I look forward with real pleasure to a visit from you, at the time most convenient for your coming to Scotland. I have the MSS. *in custodiâ*, and owe you many obligations for the use of them. Let me know when you shall need them, and whatever thing you may wish to have from them. I am sorry to learn that Abyssinian affairs are not so prosperous as could be wished. The Ras is old, and besides, they really do not know how to use advantages. Your two friends must have gathered some curious information at

Gondar and in Ifat. I greatly wish they may have the good fortune to conduct the white traveller from the south into Tigré. Parke is, I believe, gone; and Horneman, if alive, must have emerged from the heart of Africa. How little we know of that continent, and of the globe in general! The cause of literature in the East has sustained a severe blow by the death of Dr. Leyden, a most eminent scholar, and one of the first-rate men of his age. He had made great inquiries into the origin and history of the Indo-Chinese nations, of which he had studied the languages and writings. He died in the affair of Java, on the 27th of August last.

"I must now advert to the translation of the Abyssinian letter which you transmitted to me. I think that it is the production of your two protegés, with the Ras's leave to write. It is merely a series of compliments, as follows:—

'Peace be to thee, and the peace of the Lord be with thee, O King of the Engliz, Girgis! Peace be to thee, and the peace of the Lord be with thee, O Mr. Sawelt.

'And Nathaniel Pès says to his Lord the King of Kings, Girgis: I have been in health and in peace, and in joy and gladness, O my

Lord King of Kings, Georgis! And next, Mr. Cofen says—How hast thou been, my Lord, O King Georgis! I have been in health and peace, in joy and safety.—We turn to the first thing: I will send a particular messenger of mine, every *one* month, with tidings of my health; and do thou, my Lord, send to me tidings of thy life and thy health, and tidings of thy joy and thy gladness, every *one* month (always.) And now how are my people, my brethren, and my kindred, my father and my mother—for I have been in health. And now send me an account of thy life, and of thy health, and an account (tidings) of thy people, thy brethren, and thy kindred, and thy officers, and the (soldiers) servants of thy house; and particularly how thou hast been (or art), O my Lord King of Kings, Georgis! And I will love, above all, thy life and thy health, in joy and in peace, for ever, Amen!'

"I enclose the original in this letter.

"My dear sir, I now close this rambling letter, which I find has kept me till a late hour, with sentiments of the deepest regard for your friendly intercourse, and a wish to be of every possible service to you that my trifling abilities can effect. I shall be happy to hear from you

at your convenience, and to have the felicity of assuring you that I ever am,

"Your most faithful friend and servant,

ALEX. MURRAY." *

"To Henry Salt, Esq."

* It must be remembered, that the unqualified commendations bestowed upon Mr. Salt in the above letters, proceed from a gentleman who had no previous, nor personal acquaintance with him, who was the fellow-countryman of Mr. Bruce, and the editor of his works, and who was no less distinguished by his candour and integrity than by the depth and extent of his knowledge, although, perhaps, he might never have had Major Head's advantage of "a gallop across the Pampas" to sharpen his intellects, and to assist him in the prosecution of his Oriental researches. I know not, indeed, what may be the feelings of the Major should this correspondence of Mr. Murray's ever chance to attract his attention; but I should suppose, and perhaps have some reason to believe, that they would not prove of the most enviable description. His "Life of Mr. Bruce," in "The Family Library," forms, wherever Mr. Salt's name is mentioned, a mere tissue of flippant remark and illiberal criticism, which, to the mind of an unprejudiced and well-informed individual, can only suggest the suspicion that it must have proceeded from the irritation of personal hostility. It might not be very difficult to write a suitable reply to so singular and intemperate an attack, and perhaps in the indignant feelings of the moment, I may have felt some temptation to undertake the disagreeable office — "mais la chose ne vaut pas la peine!" The book itself is probably by this time making its approaches to the "Tomb

of all the Capulets," and its merits will hardly entitle it to a resurrection. Scarcely had the Major's book made its appearance, when "another Daniel comes to judgment," in the person of James Augustus St. John, Esq. I know nothing of this gentleman's lucubrations beyond the two concluding pages of his "Life of Bruce," inserted among the "Lives of Celebrated Travellers." This production, however, I believe, may be safely left to refute itself; and I will merely add one sentence, from a book containing much wisdom, which seems somewhat adapted to the occasion:—"Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?"—E.

CHAPTER XIII.

Salt becomes a Member of the British and Foreign Bible Society.—Correspondence with Mr. Murray on the subject of the Ethiopic Manuscripts of the Scriptures left by Mr. Bruce the Traveller, in possession of his Widow.—Salt goes to Lichfield for the benefit of his health.—Interests himself on behalf of a French officer, confined as a Prisoner of War in that City.—Thrown from his Horse.—Returns to London.—Letter from Mr. Murray.

Some time after his return to England, Mr. Salt became a member of "The British and Foreign Bible Society," and was subsequently appointed a member of the Abyssinian sub-committee; and in this capacity he had been applied to by the Society, for information upon certain points, which will be best explained by the subjoined letter addressed to the Rev. Mr. Murray.

FROM H. SALT, ESQ. TO THE REV. ALEX. MURRAY.

"London, March 17th, 1812.

"My dear Sir, 17, Great Marlborough Street.

"I am greatly obliged to you for your last letter, which I wave, for the present, answering,

as I have a little matter of business to address you upon.

"Since my return to England, I have been applied to by the British and Foreign Bible Society on the subject of Abyssinia. Some members of this Society have taken up warmly a wish to assist the people of that country with copies of the Scriptures, and have it in view to print at least a portion of them (after the native manuscripts) in the Ethiopic; for this purpose we are anxious to gain some information concerning the manuscripts left by Mr. Bruce. It appears that the Trustees of the British Museum did open a treaty with Mrs. Bruce for the whole collection; but before it proceeded far, it was broken off by that lady, or her friends, on the ground that she had given up the idea of parting with them. Are you aware what could be the true cause of this? The Trustees were certainly well inclined to the purchase, and are so still. Yet even should Mrs. Bruce adhere to her determination, might she not, do you think, be induced to part with the duplicates of the Scriptures only, or, for a given sum, consent to let the Society have the use of them for a time? Any information you can give me on these points will oblige.

"The members of the British Foreign Bible Society have also authorised me to request that you will undertake a work which I have recommended, previously to their proceeding any farther on the subject: this is to translate for them the small manuscript of mine, in your possession, given to me by the Ras, as containing instructions from the patriarch of Alexandria: which, as I conceive, would tend to illustrate the opinions and doctrines of the religion at present professed by the Abyssinians, better than any other document to be got at. On this account a translation of it is strongly desired by the Society, and the members will feel under an obligation to you to undertake it, and will gladly pay any sum you may think adequate to the trouble, &c. to be incurred.

"Believe me, my dear sir,

Yours most truly,

HENRY SALT."

"To the Rev. Alexander Murray."

FROM THE REV. ALEX. MURRAY TO H. SALT, ESQ.

(Read to the Society April 6th, 1812.)

"Urr, March 27th, 1812.

"DEAR SIR,

"I regret that owing to the irregularity of our post-office, and the circumstance of the direction

by Dumfries rather than by Castle Douglas, I have received your letter only this morning. As part of it relates to public business of a nature which has always commanded my warmest approbation, I return an answer without further delay.

"Copies of the Scriptures are, as you know, very rare in Abyssinia, and not in ordinary hands, on account of the expense of parchment and writing, which is far above the pecuniary abilities of the common people. It appears, notwithstanding, that the natives have all along been disposed to peruse the Scriptures with much attention; and that the people of rank are, generally speaking, well instructed in them. The predilection which the Abyssinians have for the Psalter, which some of them can repeat from memory throughout, induced Monsieur Ludolf, in the beginning of the last century, to have an edition of it accurately printed, and, I believe, a number of copies sent into that country through the medium of the Dutch East India Company. This book I know well: it is extremely accurate, and it is superior to any MS. made in Abyssinia; for besides that it is, word for word, according to the native version of the Psalter, it is free from the errors with which the

ordinary MSS. of the scribes abound. It has the Song of Solomon, and some other short pieces of Scripture added at the close of the work. When at Kinnaird, I compared Ludolf's copy of the Song of Solomon with the MS. copy in Mrs. Bruce's library, and I found that they corresponded word for word, some errors of the scribe excepted. Mr. Bruce brought home all the books of the Old and New Testament, except the Psalter, which he used to say he wondered how he could forget to purchase, as it is a favourite book in Abyssinia among the natives. The Scriptures were written for him by the public, or professional, scribes, whom he supplied with parchment, and paid for their work by the page. Many books of the Scriptures are rare and neglected, because the natives never use the whole Bible together, but in pieces; for instance, the Gospels by themselves, the apostolical Epistles, the minor Prophets, the Psalter, and so on in separate volumes. The New Testament was printed at Rome, in 1548, in Ethiopic, but with many gross errors, and not according to the native MSS., for the copy was defective from which the work was taken. It has been reprinted in our polyglott with its own, and several additional imperfections. There are two

good MSS. of the Gospels in Mr. Bruce's collection, in two volumes each, and one copy of the Epistles in two volumes. These, with the printed edition which exists in various libraries, would enable a person of judgment, conversant in Abyssinian, to prepare a version of any of the parts of Scripture, free from gross verbal errors, and conformable to the text in its best state. I apprehend, if application were made to Mrs. Bruce by some of the noble patrons of the Biblical Society, that she might be disposed to promote its views, either by way of a favour, or for some genteel consideration suited to her rank in life. I suppose that the New Testament will be that portion of the Scriptures which, in all probability, the Society will choose to print in whole or in part.

"The Ethiopic version is from the Greek of the Alexandrian correction; it was made at an early period after the conversion of Abyssinia by Frumentius, A.D. 330. The religion and rites of the Abyssinian church are according to those forms of Christianity established in Greece, Egypt, and Russia. The contests in Abyssinia about the manner of the incarnation have subsisted for ages, and are as violent at this day as formerly. I approve greatly of your having re-

commended to the Society a translation of the patriarch of Alexandria's letter lately sent into Abyssinia, of which you have brought home a copy. I will prepare a translation of it as soon as my indifferent health and avocations will permit. It is an authentic document, illustrative of the character of the prelate himself, of their mode of reasoning on religious subjects, and of the existing differences in Abyssinia with regard to articles of faith. If my health allow, I think I shall be able to forward the translation about the middle of April; but you must be so kind as to let me know through what channel it must be transmitted, and whether to your hand or to the Secretary of the Society. I have the honour to be a member of the Society, on account of the annual subscription which I pay, being connected with the local Dumfries Biblical Society, and paying the rate which, I believe, entitles me to be an ordinary member of the Parent Society.

"I wish very well indeed to the institution, and I am most willing to do any service of the ordinary kind, now requested by you in the Society's name, without further reward than perhaps a copy of the Scriptures, or part of the Scriptures, in some of the foreign languages of the north of Europe, Asia, or America, which it

has printed, or is engaged in printing. I am acquainted with the principles of a number of these languages, but have little access to books in them. "I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient friend,

ALEX. MURRAY."

"To Henry Salt, Esq."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME, SENT WITH THE PRECEDING.

"Urr, March 27th, 1812.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have written under cover to the under Secretary of State, who I fear has gone out with the Marquess Wellesley, an answer to your letter on the business of the Biblical Society. I write likewise this additional line, of a private nature, to thank you sincerely for your good wishes and exertions with regard to my interests. I certainly have just cause to be grateful to all my friends for their kindness, and assuredly am not disposed to reckon yours in the last and lowest degree. I am, however, a little timid as to the pretensions which I can advance, as a ground for public notice. I am conscious that nothing is so bad as seeking to be known on an imperfect foundation, and all my merits are but slender

when viewed by myself; I fear that some ridicule may arise from having them scrutinised by others who are not disposed to be so lenient as a man generally is to himself: however, in the matter of the Ethiopic, you (for I consider your knowledge of the country from travelling and reading to be now far advanced) and I may certainly be of considerable service to the Society, if it extend its attention to Abyssinia. I wish it to do so for the sake of the future interests of mankind. I consider the plan of getting translations as wise and benevolent in a high degree, not merely as to the effects of the actual numbers of copies distributed; but as to the means, so provided, by which private individuals may learn those languages, and promote a religious and civil intercourse, in succeeding generations, with nations cut off from the community of civilized life.

"The MSS. at Kinnaird were inspected by me in May last. Mrs. Bruce informed me of the negociation with the British Museum. The whole books and MSS. were bequeathed to her by her husband, the proprietor of an entailed estate, which he could not affect by his personal debts, nor burthen beyond a legal sum for his widow's support; consequently, Mrs. Bruce was

left in difficulties from his personal creditors, and these, I suppose, might have seized all property left her by her husband; but nothing except pressure of creditors, or difficulties as to money matters, could have induced her to think of selling the MSS. I suspect that her friends advised her to try to preserve them for her daughter, who is the heiress to the estate, that they might, if possible, continue in the family. But the enormous sum of 20,000*l.*, or some vague amount of pounds which she supposed them to be worth, made me believe that the Trustees of the Museum and she would not agree on the price, even though the offer of sale had been continued. I know that foreign and rare MSS. sell at a high rate in London; but I who know how barren a crop grows in the fields of literature, cannot be persuaded to think that so much capital can be invested with prudence in that barren soil. The application, on the part of the Society, ought to be made by some nobleman who has it in his power to take notice of Mrs. Bruce, who now resides at Sidmouth, in Devonshire. I cannot pretend to say how she may act, for she is suspicious of being overreached, and though not in distress, yet in narrow circumstances. By an order to her agent in Edinburgh, whom I know,

and who is a friend of my intimate friend Mr. Constable, the business might be settled as to obtaining the MSS. of the New Testament.*

"I am, dear Sir,
Yours ever and most sincerely,
ALEX. MURRAY."

"To Henry Salt, Esq."

FROM H. SALT ESQ. TO THE REV. ALEX. MURRAY.

"April 11th, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am exceedingly pleased to find by your answer to my last letter, that you enter so completely into the feelings which I entertain on the subject of the plan of the Biblical Society, and am obliged to you for writing so very satisfactory a reply to its proposal. As I was not able to attend the last meeting, I gave your letter over to Lord Valentia, who is president of the Abyssinian sub-committee, and he laid it before the general committee on Monday last, which in consequence came to the following resolution, which I am requested by his lordship to forward to you.

* This application, I have heard, was subsequently made, but totally failed of success, probably from some such motives, on the part of Mrs. Bruce, as Mr. Murray suggests.—E.

'April 6th, 1812.

'At a meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society—Resolved:

'That the Right Hon. Lord Valentia be requested to communicate to the Rev. Mr. Murray the thanks of the Committee for his letter of the 27th ult., and for his offer of service; and that the Abyssinian sub-committee be authorised to furnish him with such copies of the foreign versions of the Holy Scriptures, printed by the Society, as they may think proper.

'JOSEPH TARN.
April 7th.'

"In consequence of this resolution, the sub-committee, of which I am a member, met on the 10th of April, and resolved:

'That Dr. Clarke be requested to direct Mr. Tarn to collect together the foreign versions of any part of the Scriptures that may have been published by the Society, and that the same may be sent, free of all expense, to the Rev. Mr. Murray, and that Manx and Irish versions be also sent to him.'

"So that you may depend on having all the versions that have been printed by the Society. There are many to which it has contributed

largely abroad, which are not at present procurable; but there is a hope, and I will not forget to mention it, that the foreign Secretary, Mr. —— who has gained permission from the Society to visit the Continent, will be able to pick up for you several other versions, as the Icelandic, &c. I have at present nothing particular to add, except that, for the future I will thank you to direct, under cover, to William Hamilton, Esq. Foreign Office; and to request you to keep distinct, as in your last communication, all matters of business appertaining immediately to the Biblical affairs, and your private remarks. Lord Valentia is very enthusiastic on all Abyssinian business, and will do much towards furthering any future plans respecting that country.

"Believe me to be, my dear sir,

Yours most truly,

HENRY SALT."

"P.S. I shall expect your translation of the MSS. with much impatience: though I hope you will not let it interfere with the more important consideration of your health, which I regret to hear is so indifferent."

"Rev. Alex. Murray."

THE REV. ALEX. MURRAY TO HENRY SALT, ESQ.

"Urr, May 2nd, 1812.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have at length been able to transmit, under cover, in the way that you direct me in your esteemed favour of the 11th ult., a translation of the patriarch's instructions. My health, which is often in the cold season of the year much affected by a kind of asthmatic complaint, has prevented me from fulfilling my promise, about the middle of last month, as I hoped to have done when I last wrote to you. The translation is pretty literal, and I can vouch for its general accuracy. A few sentences have puzzled me a little, and I am less certain of their precise meaning. I have noticed this, in most instances, at the foot of the page. This epistle is a curious document, both as to the state of religion in Habbesh, and the character of Markos the patriarch. I know not whether I can recommend to you a perusal of this production. It has too much theology for a layman and an English gentleman—too much, perhaps, for most divines. I do not mean that it is too learned for their comprehension. It is the subject, the mysterious nature of the controversy, that is calculated to terrify rather than delight the reader. I think

the patriarch is, generally speaking, a good, sound, orthodox person, of tolerable reading, and aware of his own dignity, as well as of the dangers attending on schism. If good order ever be restored in Habbesh, the Alexandrian or Greek faith will no doubt resume its lustre, but gross ignorance has always done extreme mischief in that country. They imagine that religion consists chiefly in fasts, penances, and renunciation of the duties of life; and the morals of the community at large are sacrificed to alternate fanaticism and licentiousness. Figure to yourself the monks of Waldubba, Werkleva, Gojam, and Damot, all poured forth to cry, 'Bekebat, yabahen lej!' By unction he was Son of God? If a Frank could be safe in their neighbourhood, he would unquestionably admire their wild yells, frantic attitudes, and hairy, unwashened holiness; but he would hear with surprise that few of these saints could read, and lament that so many stout able-bodied peasants should be withdrawn from the purposes of agriculture, and annexed to the staff of religion.

"It occurs to me that the Biblical Society might, with advantage, print the books of the New Testament, to be circulated in Habbesh. Some pains might and ought to be taken to

learn by correspondence with that country how such a present would be received; and whether local prejudices of scribes, priests, &c. might not obstruct the use of it. Might it not be proper to attempt giving the Abyssinians some idea of the plenty and cheapness of books among us, and of the art of multiplying copies? Some of our arts might be introduced to their notice. Surely Abyssinia, a Christian country, not remote from India, and extending considerably into Africa, is a good station for getting information respecting the interior, and for doing benefit to ourselves and others in the way of commerce and intercourse. I wish that the absurd practice of giving charters of indolence to individual corporations over districts, which they exclude from all advantages of trade or intercourse with Europe, were completely abolished. The renewal of the Indian charter is worse than a Milan or Berlin decree.

"I am convinced that the intercourse between Abyssinia and Britain in the way of commerce, from the interior, might be established in a very profitable and solid manner. Trade finds its way through the Galla to Ifat and Adel, and through the desert between Cairo and Tombucto; would it not find its way from Britain or from

India to Gondar, and even far beyond that? I have taken the liberty to request you, as you will see by the letter (public) under cover with this, that you would return my thanks to the right honourable the President of the Abyssinian sub-committee for his exertions in promoting my views, as to philology, by procuring from the Society copies of their foreign versions of the Bible. I have lately made myself acquainted with the Lapponic language, which is a dialect of the Finnish. It is long since I learned to read Icelandic. I have at present beside me the Edda or Icelandic mythology, published at Copenhagen, and have been amusing myself, at spare moments, with the adventures of Odin, Freya, and Thor. Have the Society printed any thing in Russian? I know that language, having studied it some time ago, so as to be able to read it. I can read Irish very well; I know Welsh tolerably; I know very little Manx, but I have heard it spoken, and know that it is a Celtic, or Irish dialect.

"You will think that there is some little *bouncing* in pretending to know so many foreign dialects; but the wonder will cease when I tell you that, since I was able to decypher, I was curious about these matters, and that there has

been no manuscript . . . whatever, that I could get access to, that I have not, more or less, examined, and, in many instances, have made extracts of my own, which facilitates the labour. I go into Edinburgh about the middle of this next month, to pass through the press a work that I call 'The Philosophical History of Languages.' It comprehends an account of the formation of La . . . . . our own Saxon and Teutonic dialects, and . . . . . history of the Greek, Latin, Sanscrit, Persic, Slavic, Lapponic, Celtic or Irish, and Welsh, containing the principles and affinities of these dialects, arranged in a scientific manner. I think that I have illustrated the ancient relations of a great section of the human race; and though I have not been able to show, like some etymological men, that all languages are the same at the base, I flatter myself that I have been able to trace many curious facts without deviating from certainty, reason, and, what many philologists greatly contemn, common probability. I am acquainted with the principles of the Coptic, or old Egyptian. I feel a very powerful desire to learn the different affinities of the African tribes. We know Coptic, Arabic, Abyssinian, or old Arabic from Yemen, a few words of the Berber

tongue; but the singular language of the Shangalla, Donza, and many other tribes, totally black, that people the interior, are all unknown!

"How long will it be before we are able to settle the affinities of our species, and trace the progress of man on the globe? Knowledge of this kind is both useful and interesting. It gives us a history of the ancient state of the race, and leads to communications with the different tribes. For until we can maintain intercourse by speech and writing, we cannot make much progress in carrying on an unbroken correspondence with any country. I am sorry to think that Ras Welleda Selasse is so old, and that so little can be expected from his exertions. If he had been young, or adventurous, he might have soon settled affairs at Gondar. Ras Michael must have been very old and infirm before his death. I shall wait with great impatience for further accounts of the white traveller that your Abyssinian protegés have heard of in Ifat. If he be either Parke, or Horneman, we may hope to hear of things unknown to all Europe hitherto.

"I hope that the translation of the patriarch's instructions will convince the Society that the African Christians, though ignorant, are not careless as to matters of religion, and lead it to do

something in the way of continuing the intercourse with Habbesh. Be so kind, my dear sir, as to let me know, by a line or two, that you have received this packet, as I should be uneasy that it miscarried; and inform me as to the state of your health, and whether you have any intentions of visiting Scotland this summer, and all other matters that occur to you.

"I am, dear sir, your very sincere and
Affectionate friend and servant,
ALEX. MURRAY."

"Henry Salt, Esq."

In the month of June 1812, Mr. Murray addressed the following letter to Mr. Salt, requesting him to use his interest in getting him appointed to the professorship of Oriental languages in the University of Edinburgh, which had for some time been vacant. Zeal and activity in the service of a friend, or indeed of any one whom he believed to be meritorious, were qualities in which Salt was never found deficient, and accordingly he exerted himself on the occasion with so much promptitude and warmth, as greatly to contribute to the ultimate success of Mr. Murray after a very arduous contest.

FROM THE REV. ALEX. MURRAY TO H. SALT, ESQ.

" Manse of Urr, June 1812.

" DEAR SIR,

" The professorship of Oriental languages in the University of Edinburgh has become vacant a few months since. I have been proposed as a candidate for it, and have good hopes of succeeding in the application. Would you do me the honour of writing a short note in attestation of your knowledge and sentiments with regard to my acquisitions in Oriental literature, and of the motives which led you to recommend me to the Marquess Wellesley as a proper person for translating the Abyssinian letter to the King. This note you will be so kind as to address to me by post as soon as you conveniently can. It will do me much honour, and be of service to me in the application abovementioned. * * * I am, dear sir, with the greatest regard and respect,

" Your very obedient friend and servant,

(In haste.) ALEX. MURRAY."

" To Henry Salt, Esq."

About the time of his receiving this letter, the general health of Mr. Salt had been so much shaken by his late complaints, that he was advised

to take horse exercise, and to try a change of air; he accordingly went for a short period to Lichfield, and experienced a good deal of benefit from the excursion. This city during the war had been made a depôt for the French officers, who were prisoners of war, many of whom, in consequence of Bonaparte's system of carrying on hostilities, had remained in captivity for a number of years upon parole. With one of these, who had long been pining in sickness, Mr. Salt appears, from the following letter, to have become acquainted, and to have interested himself in his behalf.

"Lichfield, ce 13 Juin 1812.

"MON CHER MONSIEUR,

"D'après les offres honnêtes que vous avez bien voulu me faire ce matin dans votre visite amicale, je m'empresse de vous envoyer la note qui vous donnera tous les renseignemens nécessaires pour me faire avoir ma liberté. Il est très difficile, je le sais, de pouvoir obtenir quelque chose dans le moment actuel; mais rien ne coûte à l'homme sensible qui veut faire des heureux:—les puissans protecteurs qui vous honorent de leur amitié, les rares talents qui vous font respecter par-tout, me font un sûr garant de la réussite de vos démarches. Je suis bien persuadé de l'in-

terêt que vous mettrez à fairê renvoyer dans sa patrie un malheureux invalide, qui traine une existence languissante depuis neuf ans qu'il est prisonnier de guerre. Recevez les assurances de la plus vive reconnaissance, et du plus profond respect. " J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

F. LISSEYRG."

" A Monsieur
Monsieur Salt, fils,
à Lichfield."

I never learned with what success Salt's endeavours were attended on this occasion; but I am sure it must have been a case that in his opinion called for much sympathy, as he was certainly, from national feeling, not very likely to interfere at such a time in an affair of this nature. After his return from Lichfield, he was sufficiently recovered to ride over to Colchester, in Essex, to pay a short visit to my family who were then resident in the place; but on his way thither an accident befel him which had nearly terminated his earthly career. Some time before, he had purchased a horse, upon which he performed the journey; but his judgment, in matters of this nature, not being at this time at least of the very first order, the steed he

selected bore, in appearance, no small affinity to the far-famed Pegasus of the knight of La Mancha, displaying more bone than flesh or figure; so that some of his friends used jokingly to tell him; in his then reduced state, that he and his horse seemed to be in admirable keeping. He was at no time of his life an expert horseman, and always an extremely careless one; and I confess I was not much surprised when I received from him the following account of his accident.

"Colchester, July 14th, 1812.

"DEAR JOHN,

"I have the pleasure to inform you that my neck is not broken; at the same time, that I have the woeful and very lamentable intelligence to send you of my falling from my horse on my way to Colchester, or rather of my having been thrown with considerable detriment to my animal frame, and that my hip has thereby been so much bruised that I have been obliged to act the wooden-legged man ever since my arrival. At this *you* will not be surprised, or at my escaping so miraculously any more serious catastrophe. Seriously, I have great reason to be satisfied, for I was cantering very gaily across

Lexden Heath, when an unlucky hole caught the horse's foot, and we both made a somerset together. * * * * Though lame, I have much enjoyed my stay. I am still unable to get away, and have therefore postponed my departure to Friday, and shall see you on Saturday. * * * *

"I am, dear John,
Your very *constant* correspondent,
HENRY SALT."

On his arrival in London, he received a letter from Mr. Murray, from which the following are extracts, acquainting him with the successful issue of his election.

"Manse of Urr, July 13th, 1812.

"DEAR SIR,

"It is my duty and desire to inform you, that in consequence chiefly of your letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and of that procured by you from Lord Castlereagh, I have been elected professor of the Eastern languages in the University of that city. The Town Council, a body of thirty-three voters, was divided; one party for a clergyman in the city, and another for me, which with some difficulty proved to be the majority. I had recommendations from every per-

son of eminence about Edinburgh, and, had I not gained the victory, I understand that the public would have expressed great dissatisfaction. * * * * *

"In consequence of this event I am placed in the literary circle of our metropolis, which, though not so extensive as that of the capital of the empire, is nevertheless very respectable and active. The emoluments of the place are not equal, in solid value, to those of the living which I hold, but must, in a year or so, resign, on account of its distance from town. But my friends will attempt to improve them by something additional; and the opportunities of the situation are to me very desirable on many accounts. If any Abyssinian undertaking should occur to the British and Foreign Bible Society, I shall be much more able to attend to it (on the supposition that they honour me with their commands) in my professional than in my clerical situation. The necessity of being in town all the winter at least, brings me near the best libraries, the press, and every other part of philological apparatus. As Mrs. Bruce has relations in Edinburgh, perhaps she might, by proper application, be prevailed on to let us have the use of her biblical MSS. by depositing

them for a time in some public library, or with her confidential friends.

"I return you my sincere and heartfelt thanks for the assistance you have given me towards procuring this place. The honour which has been conferred on me by the united attestations in my behalf of the first-rate men in the kingdom, might induce me to be a little vain, were it not evident to every person of good sense that their favourable opinion lays me under the most solemn responsibility as to the manner in which I shall execute the duties of this recent appointment. I shall feel highly gratified by a line or two from you at your leisure; I would also request you to make it known to Lord Castlereagh, that his letter was respectfully attended to by not a few of the members of the Town Council of Edinburgh. * * * *

"I am, dear sir,
Your very faithful friend,
and much obliged humble servant,
ALEXANDER MURRAY."

"Henry Salt, Esq."

CHAPTER XIV.

Salt. joins Mr. Justice Bosanquet on a Tour to Wales.—Epistle from the Ras to Mr. Salt, sent for translation to Mr. Murray.—That Gentleman's Letter, enclosing the English version.—Death of Mr. Murray.—Particulars relative to that event, in a Letter to Mr. Salt from Mr. Constable of Edinburgh.—Publication of Mr. Murray's Work on Languages.—Letters from Salt to the Author.—Salt's return to London.—He undergoes a surgical operation.—An alarming Fit.—An Apothecary's mistake.—Salt diverts the tedium of illness by writing Squibs on his Friends.—A Young Lady's revenge.—Salt devotes himself to the preparation of his Travels for publication.—His Letters to the Author.—Salt repairs to the sea-side for his health.—Afflicting Scenes.—An Epitaph.—Salt's return to London.—Letter to Lord Valentia.

As soon as Mr. Salt had returned from Essex, and had recovered from the effects of his recent accident, he set off to Lichfield to see his father; he also paid a short visit to Lord Valentia at Arley, and then proceeded on a tour to Wales, in company, I believe, with Mr. Justice Bosan-

quet and family, from whom he had experienced great civility and attention. About the time of his quitting London upon this excursion, my friend Mr. Broughton found it necessary to take a house in the neighbourhood of Argyll Street entirely to himself, and in consequence, Mr. Salt and I entered into an arrangement to keep house together (in the one I had hitherto occupied conjointly with Mr. Broughton), and here we continued to reside till a change in my own views obliged us to separate. Our plan, however, owing to his Welsh tour, did not completely take effect till some months after. Mr. Salt returned to London the following November, having in the course of his absence sent the annexed reply to Mr. Murray's preceding letter :—

"Lichfield, August 11th, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I most heartily congratulate you on your success in gaining the Professorship, a distinction which is honourable both to yourself and to the University. I am at present on my way to make a tour in Wales with a party of ladies, and am so engaged that I have it not in my power to give you a longer letter. I have enclosed a letter which I received a short time ago

from the Ras, of which, perhaps, you will be good enough to send me a translation. My direction in town will, on my return, be No. 10, Argyll Street, under cover, as usual, to Mr. Hamilton at the Foreign Office; that is, when you have inclosures to send, otherwise it will always give me pleasure to hear from you direct.

"Believe me, my dear sir,

Yours most truly,

HENRY SALT."

"Rev. Alexander Murray."

FROM THE REV. ALEX. MURRAY TO H. SALT, ESQ.

"Manse of Urr, October 17th, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I reckon myself blameable for not having acknowledged long before this time that I received your letter, dated August 11th, 1812, enclosing the letter from the Governor of Tigré. I was in Edinburgh when it arrived here, and consequently some delay took place before I could examine it. Since my return, I have been engaged in a variety of matters, and indolence has likewise had a share of my time, for which I know not how to make an apology. Yet, nothing was more agreeable to me than to hear from you, and had your time permitted you to

write a longer letter, you would have added to my enjoyments. I have found some difficulty in making out the Ras's letter, because it is mostly written in Amharic, of which we have no grammar, nor dictionary, except Ludolf's. These are imperfect works, as he himself willingly acknowledged and regretted. When at Kinnaird in 1811, I copied the Song of Solomon, in Amharic, from Bruce's MS. which I really think ought to be published, along with a new edition of Ludolf's Amharic Grammar and Dictionary, for the use of the literati and of gentlemen who intend to visit Abyssinia. On this last topic you write not a word. May I venture to inquire, in a confidential way, how matters stand at present with regard to Abyssinia? Have you any thoughts of revisiting that country? and what is the mind of Government with regard to Africa? I should think that the African Institution and the Biblical Society must be disposed to promote the interests of religion and science among the people of that continent, and that many eminent persons of all descriptions might be found ready to support the wishes of philosophy, literature, and commercial knowledge. Our close connection with India obliges all the servants of the Company to get

some acquaintance with eastern languages and literature; and this diffuses a taste for that sort of reading among a very numerous class. I have found many of these gentlemen very curious about Abyssinia, and I am almost certain that more information as to that country, and the regions around it, would be very acceptable. Are you acquainted with Sir William Drummond, of Logie Almond? He has a turn for Oriental literature, and is a contributor to the Classical Journal, published by Valpy. I have lately had a correspondence with him on Phœnician inscriptions, on one of which, found at Malta, he has actually published an essay. I apprehend that he would be very ready to use his influence in promoting any undertaking relative to Africa. If I mistake not, he has been in the East, in a diplomatic capacity, not many years since.

"The translation of the Ras's letter, as far as I can make it out, is below. It is a mixture of Geez and Amharic, and though it contains little, except compliments, seems to be very kind and sincere. I mark the Geez by an underlineation [italics]; all the rest is Amharic. I make it as literal as possible.

'*I will write my message in the Geez language.* How art thou, *my dear Mr. Sawelt?* I am most happy that thou hast returned safe. Heaven is with thee: Earth is with thee. How art thou, Hinorai Sawelt? *Peace be to thee, and may the peace of the Lord be with thee!* Above all things, how art thou, my friend Hinorai Sawelt? As to my country, the locust has eaten it while the sun was. As for me; I am going on an expedition [or, I am going on a campaign] when I have rested for the winter. Thy stranger has returned to my country to pass the winter [or, that he may winter with me.] *And therefore how art thou, my dear Mr. Sawelt?* I am most happy that thou hast returned safe. Above all things, how art thou, Hinorai Sawelt? With respect to my country, it is an affliction that the locust has eaten it. *Peace be to thee, and may the peace of the Lord be with thee!*'

"The Ras's seal is added. It is the same that was used in the letter to the King. * * * It appears that Tigré has been affected in the summer, or clear season, by locusts, an incident that I believe occurs rather too often. The

letter has been written in the rainy season, and I suppose that the stranger whom he mentions is one of the persons you left at his court. * * * I consider this letter as very kind and polite, though the simplicity of the eastern style may appear to little advantage in literal English.

"I go into Edinburgh in the first week of November in order to begin my public labours as Professor of Hebrew and other Eastern languages. I see that I shall be able to teach Sanscrit, Bengalee, Hindostanee, Persic, Arabic, and some other dialects. I am most happy as to the Sanscrit, as it is the base of all the modern dialects of India, and very little known in Britain. A few gentlemen in India, or lately in that country, have alone made any progress in it. To the scholars of the West it has hitherto been a language completely unknown. * * * * You may rest assured that my trifling services are always at your command; and it is with great respect and esteem that I am, dear sir,

"Yours, &c.

ALEX. MURRAY."

"Henry Salt, Esq."

This letter reached London in the absence of Mr. Salt, and his address at the time not being

known, he did not get it till his return, some weeks afterwards. It was destined to be the last he was to receive from his highly gifted correspondent, who had not long entered on the labours of his new situation at Edinburgh, when he fell a victim, in the prime of life, to an incurable disease, with which he had been for a long time previously afflicted, and which had probably been somewhat hastened by too severe an application to his arduous pursuits. His loss was deeply lamented by a large circle of friends, and by every one who was acquainted with his modest, unassuming worth and extraordinary literary acquirements. The news of his death greatly affected Mr. Salt, both as a public and private misfortune, and he ever afterwards spoke of him in terms of the highest regard and esteem. He wrote a letter to Mr. Constable as soon as he learned the decease of Dr. Murray, and the answer he received from that gentleman gives some particulars relative to the event, which probably will not be found uninteresting to the reader. The following are extracts from the letter.

MR. CONSTABLE TO HENRY SALT, ESQ.

"Edinburgh, April 26th, 1813.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am favoured with your letter of the 22nd. I would have written to you on the occasion of Dr. Murray's death, but was uncertain whether you were in London.

"The learning of the country has sustained a very great loss in the death of our most eminent and worthy friend—such as cannot be supplied, I fear, by any one now living. Dr. Murray's constitution was naturally weak, and he had been affected by asthmatic complaints for a number of years. He was confined to his apartments for nearly three months, and died a perfect shadow, without any previous apprehension of the visibly approaching change. He has left a wife and two children; a boy and a girl, the eldest of whom is under four years of age—and but with little provision. There is every probability, I hope however, of a pension being granted by Government, respecting which application has already been made. Dr. Murray left no settlement of his affairs. His widow has requested Principal Baird, Mr. Herries of Spottes, the principal heritor of the parish of Urr, and

myself, to take charge of his papers, and act as the guardians of the children—a duty which all of us have undertaken to discharge with the best of our ability. * * * * * You are aware, I presume, that Dr. Murray had nearly ready for the press a most laborious and curious work on languages, which we shall bring forward with as little delay as possible; and, in order to get as much money by it as we can, I think of publishing the first edition by subscription; and shall consequently take the liberty of soliciting your assistance in this particular. In the mean time I have the honour to be, dear sir,

"Your obedient servant,

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE."

The work alluded to above was afterwards published, and I have heard it spoken of as a production of great ingenuity and learning. I do not know how it answered; probably not too well, as from the nature of the subject it could not be a book of general interest. I never learned whether Mr. Salt was able to procure any subscribers, but I remember he exerted himself on the occasion; and, not long since, I found among his papers one of the prospectuses, with the names of a number of persons written

on the back in his own hand, whose subscriptions he had either obtained, or intended to solicit.

After his departure from London, on his tour to Wales, several months elapsed before I heard from him; in fact, he appears to have been so delighted with his excursion, as to have had no disposition to think of any other subject, and it was not till nearly the end of October that I received any intelligence of his movements. I then got several letters, from some of which I subjoin a few extracts.

"Upper Arley, Staffordshire,
Oct. 20th, 1812.

"DEAR HALLS,

"I have at last the pleasure to inform you of my return thus far on my way to London from my Welsh excursion, which has proved so delightful as to absorb all my faculties, and which can alone excuse my not having before written to you. I hope all our establishment goes on well in Argyll Street * * * In a very short time I indulge myself in the thought of joining you, and of spending a most agreeable winter in the bosom of friendship and the *arts*. Pray how have you arranged your journey to Shrewsbury? I was there about a month ago, and they expected to be ready for you about this time. If

it should prove so, Lord Valentia will have great pleasure in seeing you here, and I shall with equal pleasure accompany you to Shrewsbury, where I believe I could render you considerable assistance. It appears to me that you will have a pretty serious job. There is not a soul there who knows anything about painting or drawing, so that except in the jewels and ornamental parts, you can have no assistance. * * * Your designs, compared with everything they have at Shrewsbury, look beautiful, splendidly beautiful, which is a great matter! * * *

"HENRY SALT."

It turned out, however, that I was not wanted at Shrewsbury till June in the following year, and, had it proved otherwise, Salt could not have accompanied me, as I received a letter from him a few days after, in which he says:

"You will be sorry to hear that I am at present very unwell from a painful swelling in my right leg, which has been coming on for some time, and to which I have lately applied leeches, blisters, &c. The periosteum is certainly affected, and I shall not be easy till I get under Brodie's care. I have written to him, and cannot decide about moving till I get his answer. Yours, &c.

"November 2nd, 1812." HENRY SALT."

Having received Mr. Brodie's permission to undertake the journey, he shortly afterwards reached London, and took up his abode with me in Argyll Street. His complaint had rapidly increased, and, when he arrived, he was unable to walk, and looked wretchedly. The disease turned out, as he had apprehended, to be a thickening of the periosteum on the shin-bone of the leg. An operation, of rather a severe description, had by this time become necessary, and it was accordingly performed by Mr. Brodie without delay. From the length and depth of the incision, the suffering must have been very considerable; but I was told he bore it with great fortitude, and when I was permitted to re-enter the room he was in excellent spirits, and went to bed, apparently, as if nothing had occurred, so that I felt quite easy about him.

At an early hour in the morning, however, I was awakened by my servant, who begged me to get up immediately, as Mr. Salt appeared to be dying. On reaching his chamber I was exceedingly alarmed, as I beheld him, for the first time, labouring under one of those terrible spasmodic affections to which he was occasionally liable throughout nearly his whole life. He was speechless; but I perceived, by the expression

of his eye, and the slight movement of his lips, that he wished to say something to me which he was unable to articulate. On the first alarm I had sent off my servant for medical assistance; but at so early an hour, at that time of the year, none could be immediately procured. In the mean while the spasms continued with unabated violence. All the muscles of his body were distorted and drawn into knots, and the writhings of his whole person presented to the view a species of terrible sublimity which, even in that moment of anxiety, put me forcibly in mind of the statue of Laocoon.

Never having seen him before under the influence of such an attack, and knowing the operation he had undergone, I was for some time fearful that he was seized with tetanus; but as soon as the worst symptoms had subsided, he was enabled to whisper the word "ether," which somewhat quieted my apprehensions, as I recollected that it was the medicine he always used in what he called his hysteric attacks. As this, however, could not be directly procured, I proposed his trying to take a little hot water, to which he nodded assent, and with some difficulty I was enabled to insert a tea-spoonful or two between his teeth, which quickly brought him round again.

He had no sooner come a little to himself when a neighbouring apothecary arrived, who was the occasion of a scene very different from the preceding. I had heard from Salt that in early life he had met with an accident in his great toe, which had bent it upwards, and somewhat deformed it. It so happened, when the medical man entered the room, that this same toe appeared from under the coverings resting against one of the bed-posts, and it immediately attracted the anxious attention of the doctor. "See, sir," said he to me in great alarm, "look at that toe; the spasm continues, and I must immediately send something to alleviate the symptom!" A single glance which I gave Salt convinced me I must not repeat the experiment, for there was a mingled expression of impatience and comicality in his countenance, which Heraclitus himself could scarcely have withstood: luckily the doctor speedily left the room for his restorative; but he had hardly closed the door, when Salt exclaimed, half in fun and half in earnest, "For God's sake, Halls, don't let me see that man again!"

Soon afterwards Mr. Brodie came in, and found that the mischief had arisen from the swelling of the lint, which had been inserted into the inci-

sion to prevent the flesh from uniting, and which had pressed upon the adjacent nerves. No serious symptoms occurred in the sequel: the complaint having slowly subsided after it had confined him to his couch for several months.

In the course of this long and tedious illness, he occasionally amused himself in writing letters and squibs to his friends, and, among others, he sent some of his saucy messages, accompanied by a copy of verses, to a young lady of our common acquaintance, who in return revenged herself by addressing to him the following lines, entitled, "The Abyssinian Wanderer's Lament."

MOTTO.

"Oft have I listened and stood still,
When the sound wandered up the hill,
And deemed it the lament of *legs*
That languished for a pair of *pegs*."
Vide SCOTT'S *Marmion*.

LAMENT.

Oh many a dismal week I've past,
No hope 'that this may be the last,'
It really makes me quite downcast,
With you, my leg.

For, spite of all the watchful care
Of J. J. H—— and Sally fair,
I still could wish the pain more rare
Of you, my leg.

And in my walk I 've such a halt,
No lass, save one who 's at a fault,
Will think of wedding Henry Salt.
Alas! my leg.

Yet cheer my heart, nor sigh in vain,
Time may set all to rights again,
And then, no longer I 'll complain,
Of you, my leg.

Upon the whole, it appears probable that this accidental illness eventually turned out to his advantage, as it enabled him to pay that serious attention to the work in which he was engaged, which it is to be feared he would have found it difficult to bestow had he been left at liberty to mingle in the feverish excitements of the metropolis. To confess the truth, he had run no small danger, since his return from Abyssinia, of dissipating the energy of his character, by engaging in a variety of amusing pursuits without fixing his attention on any one determinate object. He was much in society, not only among the middling, but the higher classes of life, and he fell unwarily into an extensive round of engagements and company, which left him only a small portion of time to devote to more serious avocations.

Occasionally, indeed, an industrious fit would

come over him, and then he would sit down earnestly for a short period, and proceed with his Travels; but having all his sketches, notes, and many of his observations at hand, it was difficult to persuade him that much time and attention would be required to prepare and arrange them for publication. He composed with readiness, and being gifted with a retentive memory and a clear intellect, he found his progress very rapid whenever he seriously went to work. This very readiness, however, often proved his greatest hindrance, and led him to imagine, inconsiderately, that before some desirable and permanent situation really offered, he should always find time enough to complete his Travels; and thus, perhaps, he might have continued "to defer the evil day" till his appointment to the Consul-Generalship of Egpyt would have rendered his former procrastination irremediable. His present ill state of health necessarily abstracting him from the blandishments of the world, some employment became indispensable, and he was compelled to devote those hours to his work, which, under other circumstances, might have been wasted, if not in idleness, at least in unprofitable occupation.

Having, however, once fairly engaged in the

undertaking, he began to find that it was a more serious business than he had before contemplated, and "setting his shoulders to the wheel" in good earnest, he soon made a considerable progress, so that by the latter end of the following year he was enabled to offer the work to his publisher in a state of readiness for the press.

While he was suffering under his very unpleasant malady, I was under the necessity of leaving him to himself, having received a summons from my family at Colchester to attend the death-bed of my mother, who had long been afflicted by an incurable disease. Many months previously I had been engaged in painting a very large picture of "The Raising of Jairus's Daughter," which, owing to my being so suddenly called home, I was obliged to send in to the British Gallery in a somewhat incomplete state. I mention these circumstances, as they will serve to explain several passages in the letters I received from Salt in my absence, and from which I shall subjoin a few extracts.

"January 12, 1813.

"DEAR JOHN,

"I have no news of any sort, kind, or description, to send you, and therefore I do think I am acting rather unfairly by your pocket in sending

you this epistle, but, as you desired it, the blame is your own. I am indeed most sorry to hear the melancholy state of your poor mother; the only hope left is, that she soon may be released from her sufferings. It is a painful thing to wish, yet you must make up your mind to it. I do not think your returning to town is of any consequence until the opening of the Gallery. Of the advisability of your stay at Colchester you will be the best judge. I have not heard a word about the great picture, nor am I likely, I think, at present. Lord Valentia was here yesterday, and he, too, has no news to communicate. * * * * 'And therefore how art thou, my dear friend, Hinoria Sawelt?' 'Kindest remembrance to every branch of your family.'

"Believe me, &c.

H. SALT."

"P.S. I am tired of my own company, and shall be very glad to see you back again."

Shortly afterwards I received the following:—

"January 19, 1813.

"DEAR JOHN,

"I am sincerely obliged by the kind manner in which your poor mother speaks of me, and

wish to God it were in my power to be of any service. The account you give me is, indeed, most lamentable, but as I conceive you can be of little use, I should think upon the whole, it would be better for you to return to town. * * * * I feel your absence very much, being rather worse than when you left me. This I attribute in a great measure to the sarsaparilla having again ceased to operate. * * * * You ought not to take it as an ill omen that you do not hear about your picture. I do not go out, and I have not seen a single person who was likely to hear of it, except Mr. Phillips, and he spoke of it the other day in a very flattering way at Holworthy's, where I went in a coach to dine. The pictures are to be varnished this week, but the Gallery does not open till the 1st of February. * * * * I beg to be remembered most kindly to your mother, father, and sisters.

"Yours, &c.

H. Salt."

Notwithstanding this letter, and the kind remonstrances of my family and friends, I could not bring myself to leave home till the sad trial that awaited me was over. I therefore wrote to

Salt, and requested him to obtain leave to have the picture varnished in my absence. In the mean while I received the following letter, which perhaps raised my hopes, and, which was of more importance, served to cheer the last days of an affectionate parent with the flattering prospect of my ultimate success.

"January 21st, 1813.

"DEAR JOHN,

"Though I conceive you may have left Colchester before the arrival of this, yet I am willing to take the chance of your still being there, for the purpose of communicating some flattering intelligence respecting the *great work*. Lord Valentia has lately been here, and he informs me that he has seen Mr. Payne Knight, one of the committee, and that he speaks of your picture with great rapture. He says, the committee were all struck with it as one of the greatest efforts that has been made in England, not for a young artist, but for any artist; that the group around the girl is equal to the best works of Dominichino; that three of the committee wish it to be bought; and in fine, that they are all delighted with it. Now, I do think this portends well, and that it will gain for you at least

the prize, and *lots* of fame. * * * * So *most first* of painters, thou Raphael of the English school, receive the congratulations of thy most insignificant friend, who, bowing at the footstool of thy mightiness, doth subscribe himself, in all humility, "Thy slave,

H. SALT."

A few days after the receipt of the above letter I lost my mother, and returned to London as soon as the last melancholy ceremony had been performed. I found Salt still confined, and in a very indifferent state of health, but he had made considerable progress in his work during my absence. In March 1813, I was again called away from him for some time, by the death of my maternal uncle, the Rev. Dr. Garnett, late Dean of Exeter. On my return I found Salt somewhat improved in health; but his constitution had been a good deal shaken by his complaint and long confinement, and it was many months before he again got entirely round. At the end of May I went to Shrewsbury to finish my engagement for the glass window of Lichfield Cathedral. As Salt had anticipated, I found the undertaking of a much more serious nature than I had been led to expect. I was

generally at work by five in the morning, and continued my labours till seven in the evening, in a small room situated over the glass furnace, and in the hottest season of the year, so that, since the days of Wil Waddle, no 'single gentleman' ever received a more thorough baking than I underwent for a period of nearly six weeks.

While I remained at this place many letters passed between me and Salt, but as they were chiefly of a private nature I shall insert only the following extracts from his portion of the correspondence, with the view chiefly of carrying on the narrative.

"June 4th, 1813, Argyll Street.

"DEAR JOHN,

"I am much obliged to you for your very characteristic letter. I thought matters would turn out just as they have done. * * * * But I am delighted to hear the Dean is pleased, as it must take away from your mind much of the anxiety concerning the eventual progress that may be made by others. Pray, how do you like glass-painting? Is it as easy as daubing canvass, or spoiling panels? Much the same, I suppose. By the by, if you had a good stainer,

and you speak highly of your co-partner, Mr. Betton, it might be a pretty trade in the present ornamental and encouraging age. * * * * * To tell you the truth, I am at this moment in such a humour that I do not know whether to laugh or to cry. I have had a slight relapse of my leg, and I am advised to go to the sea-side, which I believe I shall shortly. I have also had bad news concerning my brother Charles. He is very ill, and is gone from Bath; has sold his business, and retired to a small village in Gloucestershire. I think we had, at once, better all retire and found an hospital. The taking of Hamburgh has also distressed me. For this the Danes deserve hanging, drawing, and quartering. I have written to Dr. Darwin, of Lichfield, to write to his brother. I hope you will get acquainted with the latter, as he is by far the first man in Shrewsbury. By the by, you have never mentioned *what o'clock it is? We* are all going wrong!

"Yours, &c.

H. SALT."

"P.S. You are not wanted in London, Lord Wentworth being very ill."

"June 13th, 1813, Argyll Street.

"DEAR HALLS,

"The reason of your order not having been sent sooner has arisen from your trusting, contrary to your usual practice, your letter to an irregular conveyance. Had you sent it by the post on Saturday, I should have had it on Monday, whereas I did not get it till very late on Tuesday. On the receipt of it I immediately ordered the things to be sent you, so that you will receive them before this letter. * * * * Dr. Parr came to take leave of you yesterday. He paid me a visit, and gave me a most kind invitation to Hatton, which, as I am no whig, must be taken as an high compliment. * * * *

"H. SALT."

"I begin to think that I really am attached to you. Things do not go on so well without you."

Having completed my engagement at Shrewsbury, I returned about the beginning of July to London, where I found Salt still an invalid, and projecting a journey which he could not bring himself to undertake before my arrival; but after we had passed about a week together, it was judged necessary by his medical attendants

that he should lose no time in proceeding to the sea-side, and accordingly he took his departure for Southend, in Essex, on the 16th of July. At this place he remained for about a month, and in spite of the afflicting and somewhat dangerous scene he was called upon to witness, experienced much benefit from his residence in that quarter. The following letter, which I received from him while at Southend, will best explain the circumstance to which I allude, and will place in an interesting point of view the active benevolence and fearless disregard of all selfish considerations which animated his conduct, whenever an opportunity was afforded him of alleviating the sufferings of those whom he regarded and esteemed.

"Thursday, Southend, July 24th, 1813.

"DEAR JOHN,

"By your favour, inclosed with Miss Gambier's letter to her family, which in my hurry I left behind me in Argyll Street, you appear to have been in a gay humour. I have been, since I left you, witnessing scenes of such a very distressing nature that I am, for once in my life, disposed to be serious. On my arrival here I found Miss G——'s family in great sorrow,

owing to one of the boys* having been seized with a fever. On Saturday it put on an alarming appearance, and it was thought right to send away all the children; so that Mrs. Gambier was left, with Miss Harriet only, to attend the poor little fellow, who soon fell into a torpor, like that in which I lay when afflicted with the disease at Lichfield. Mr. Swain, an apothecary, had been called in, and luckily he informed Mrs. Gambier that Dr. Hugh, physician of Bartholomew's, was on a visit in the neighbourhood. He was immediately called in, but had very little hope of the case. On Sunday morning the child had so violent an attack that the mother thought he was dying; and as there was at that time no male in the house, Miss Harriet came over to me, and begged me to step in. Nothing could be more dreadful than the state in which I found him. He was totally insensible, his mouth as black as a coal, and his respiration very difficult. As they seemed to be relieved by my presence, I took a bed in the house, and have since, till within an hour, been present at one of the most trying scenes that can be ima-

* "A fine handsome boy, about eleven years old, who was perfectly well on the Sunday preceding."—He was a nephew of the late Lord Gambier.—E.

gined. As the disease was highly infectious, no person was admitted into the room but the nurse, the mother, who could not be induced to leave him a moment, and myself, and we managed alternately to relieve each other, and supply him with brandy and port-wine every five minutes day and night. On the Tuesday there was a ray of hope; he recovered his senses, and could articulate a few words, and evidently seemed to know his mother. This raised a sanguine hope in her mind, which was unfortunately not to be realized. Dr. Hugh was with him, for the last time, yesterday morning, and then his case appeared desperate. He still, however, continued to take the wine, and this, by the Doctor's order, we continued to supply; but in the afternoon, though he had taken a pint of wine, and a similar quantity of brandy, his pulse continued to lower, and at twelve last night I saw him expire. You may easily conceive, after the fatigue and anxiety she had undergone, what must have been the sufferings of the poor mother. She bore the shock, however, most nobly, and Miss Harriet conducted herself heroically. At one I got to bed, slept well, and this morning have been in a warm bath, and am glad to say, am not the least the

worse for the late exertion: indeed, my leg is, I think, on the whole better. I have got very comfortable lodgings, close to the sea, and the place is very beautiful. As lodgings are very scarce, I have been obliged to hire two bedrooms with my sitting-room; I hope, therefore, you will come and pay me a visit. There are two coaches come down daily. It is but a few hours' journey, and I know you would much enjoy it. As the bed is always ready, you can choose your own time; but pray come.

"Yours, &c.

H. SALT."

About this period I happened to be so much engaged with my own concerns, and some unpleasant family affairs, that I found it quite impossible to accept of his invitation. He, however, would not give up the point, and in two days after I received the following.

"July 24th, 1813, Southend.

"DEAR HALLS,

"My letter yesterday would satisfactorily answer for my silence. The news about * * *, though such as might have been expected, is very distressing; but it is in vain to lament

what cannot be avoided. * * * * * * I wish much that you would attend to my last letter, and come down for a day or two. You would find it very agreeable and pleasant. * * * * * * I am glad to hear you were at the *fête* at Vauxhall, as I wish much to have an account of it, which of course I shall when I see you. Perhaps Broughton, or Belgrave Hoppner, will come down with you. I think we could get them a bed. The view here is beautiful. There is a little bank, with a grove of trees, close by the water, laid out in a wild, natural way, that is delightful to wander in. Every few steps you catch a glimpse of the sea, or rather river, which is constantly varied by a number of ships and small vessels passing to and fro, and in the distance is seen the fleet at the Nore. The warm baths are very good, and I think have already been of use to me, as I walk about, drink my pint of wine, and am decidedly better. * * *

"Yours affectionately,

H. SALT."

"The funeral of the poor boy is on Monday, after which the Gambiers go away."

Among his papers I found the following epitaph, written by him on the above melancholy occasion. I do not know whether it is engraven on the tomb of the unfortunate youth, but I subjoin it more as a specimen of his attempts in this way, than from any particular merit it may possess.

EPITAPH ON F. S. GAMBIER, WHO DIED AT ELEVEN YEARS OF AGE, AT SOUTHEND.

" Blooming in youth, with vigorous health elate,
Rapid disease brought on an early fate.
Sad o'er my senseless frame, a mother's tears
Express'd in silent agony her fears:
Moved at the sight, relenting Nature gave
An interval of ease (no power could save);
Waked me to consciousness ere life's last close,
And with a mother's blessing shed repose.

" H. S."

The idea is pretty, but the verse seems laboured; probably he could have expressed the scene better with his pencil than his pen. I was so much occupied at this period that I omitted answering his last letter for some time, which greatly excited his wrath, and occasioned his writing me the following.

"August 13th, 1813, Southend.

"DEAR HALLS,

"I have at last received a line from you, and a precious epistle it is. Are you not ashamed of yourself? Is this the usage I am to expect from you? I sent you a polite invitation; I hired a beautiful bed (save and except its being infested with a few bugs), and instead of thanking me, or accepting it, you pass over the whole matter with an undignified silence. * * * I should like so much to see you, that I am determined to return to town on Saturday, and beg therefore you will not engage yourself to dinner on that day. I perhaps may be as late as six, but you may certainly expect me by that time. I do not know what the circumstances you allude to can mean—nothing new, I dare say, for, in fact, as the wise man says—but I may spare you the adage. You say nothing about my journal, so I suppose you have not looked at it. This is too bad; but I will not complain of anything now—my leg is better! From this time I mean to set to thoroughly at my work, and be very prudent. I have here done a good deal to it, and am not afraid of getting over it in good time. Best regards to all, and believe me

"Yours affectionately,

H. S."

On his return to London, his general health appeared improved; but he still at times complained of his leg, and it was not till some months afterwards that he recovered the full use of the limb. He had made considerable progress in his book during his absence, and, as he continued to labour at it with great diligence, I now entertained the sanguine, and, as it turned out, well-founded hope, that he would be forward enough to go to press before the end of the year. About this time he got some interesting letters from Abyssinia, of which he takes notice in the following extract from one of his letters to Lord Valentia.

"Sept. 17, 1813, Argyll Street.

"My dear Lord,

"* * * I have just received a packet from Abyssinia, containing letters from Pearce, the Ras, the high priest, Debib, and others, who all appear most anxious to do everything in their power to gratify our wishes; and the Ras in particular, in answer to my request for a copy of the Scriptures, says, through Pearce, that 'he will send them,' and anything else the King may wish. I am going to write an answer to Pearce, and shall urge the matter strongly. I wish much that you would have the goodness to

write to him, as I am sure it would be a great gratification to him. Indeed, upon the whole matter, I should like exceedingly to have a consultation with you, as something I think might be done. Sir Joseph Banks, with whom I dined at his country house on Sunday, has promised to make some arrangements respecting the money I have already advanced to them, and what I am likely in future to be called upon for. I confess I cannot help thinking that it would be best at once to institute an Abyssinian Society. If it could be properly set on foot by such persons as yourself, Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. C. Yorke, Mr. Wilberforce, and a few others, I think it might be of infinite service. I will thank you to give me your thoughts on the subject. * * * * I will send you in a day or two a copy of all my letters from Pearce and the new resident, Mr. Forbes, at Mocha. The latter I am glad to find a sensible, plain-dealing man, and he appears anxious to promote our views. * * As I am much better, I will, if possible, pay you a short visit in Ireland before Christmas.

"Believe me to be, Yours, &c.

"H. SALT."

CHAPTER XV.

Salt's Letters to Lord Valentia on the subject of his intended publication.—Reception of the work by the Public. — Letters from the Right Hon. Charles Yorke. — Salt again goes to see his Father at Lichfield. —Visits Lord Valentia in Ireland.—Letter to the Author on the subject of his Tour in that country.—Salt's Letters to Lord Valentia. — His visit at Lord Caledon's. — Leaves Ireland, and goes to Edinburgh. — Remonstrance from Lord Valentia.—Salt's Letter in explanation.—Lord Castlereagh appoints Salt to be Consul-General in Egypt.—Goes to Lichfield to bid farewell to his Family.—Invitation from Lord Valentia.—Salt's attachment to a young Lady at Lichfield.—He is rejected by her.—His Letter to Mr. Richards on that occasion.—His verses on her Birthday. —Takes farewell of Lord Valentia.—Returns to London. —Salt's last interview with the Author.—He proceeds to Brighton.—Letter to the Author from Thomas Halls, Esq. descriptive of Salt's embarkation.

Not long after Salt's arrival in London, the term for which I had taken my house in Argyll Street being nearly expired, and the circumstances of my situation having been somewhat changed, we were obliged to break up our establishment. I took a house in Marlborough

Street, and Salt settled himself in lodgings in Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury. In October he went to Lichfield for a short time, whence he wrote the following letters to Lord Valentia in Ireland, in which he gives an account of his proceedings, and of the disposal of his work.

"Lichfield, October 1813.

"My dear Lord,

"I received your letter just before I left town, and am sincerely obliged by your kind assurance of serving me when occasion shall offer. * * * * I have made an arrangement with your friends Messrs. Rivington, for the disposal of my work, upon terms which appear to me to be very fair. They have agreed to publish my book in a single quarto volume, in the same way as your lordship's Travels (plates by first artists and printing by Bulmer), for which they are to pay me 800*l.* pounds certain, and I am to have two-thirds of all additional profits on the first edition: that is, the 800*l.* is given on a valuation of the profits being 1200*l.*; should they be 1800*l.* I shall have 400*l.* more to receive, and so on in proportion, and the profits of all subsequent editions are to be equally divided between us. The 800*l.* is to be paid by instalments in the course

of 1814, and the final settlement to be in June 1815. In consequence of this bargain I shall be compelled to forego my visit to Ireland for the present, as the printing is to begin in about a fortnight, and the plates to be put in hand immediately. Though I much regret the circumstance, as I wish particularly to see you, it will perhaps, on the whole, be more prudent, as I find on travelling that I have over-rated my strength, having been three days in getting to Lichfield, and that with considerable pain to my leg.

"Since you have finally resolved on staying in Ireland, I shall look forward with much anxiety to paying you a visit in the spring; as when my book is once out I shall feel most happy to escape, for a time, from the horrors of London criticism. I have no doubt you will pity me for the next six months, and I shall want it; but the thing must be done, and, for that time, I am determined to think of nothing else. I have changed my residence (another misery), and shall on my return to town, which will be on Wednesday next, be at 109, Great Russell Street, where I hope soon to hear from you.

'Believe me, my dear Lord,

Yours most truly,

H. SALT."

As soon as he had settled in his new lodgings, he gave up his whole time to his work, which found him ample employment, during the next six or seven months, in revising the parts he had already written, and in writing the remainder. He likewise had to superintend the correction of the plates and the letterpress, and to arrange the appendix—all of which left him little time to indulge in any other pursuit, or recreation.

One of his most serious labours at this period, and upon which he perhaps had not sufficiently calculated, arose from the number of ancient and other authorities, which it became necessary for him to consult in the course of his progress. Some of these were furnished him by Lord Valentia, and they appear from the annexed letter to have proved of considerable service to him.

"Great Russell Street, Feb. 14, 1814.

"My dear Lord,

"* * * * *. You will be glad to hear that I am getting on pretty rapidly with my book; the scarce tracts respecting Abyssinia, which you were good enough to lend me, have been of great service to me; and I am happy to inform you that I have ascertained, with much labour

and pains, the authenticity of your Italian manuscript, which contains the Travels of three Franciscan Friars into Habesh. In Mr. Bruce's own Notes, lately published by the deceased Dr. Murray, there is mention made of 'Father Antonio, a Franciscan, who in 1751 converted Mr. Bruce's great friend Ayto Aylo to the Catholic faith.' This circumstance exactly agrees with the MS., and is of great importance, as Mr. Bruce, in his usual way, makes Aylo the great enemy instead of friend to the Catholics throughout his work, and it also accounts for the extreme anxiety of the Eteghé, in repeated conversations with Bruce, to ascertain the point whether he were a Catholic; which religion it is evident, I think, that she was inclined to favour. If you have no objection, I intend to publish a translation of it in the Appendix to my work. * * * * I dined a few days ago at the Marquis of Stafford's. The marchioness inquired most particularly after you, as indeed do all your friends, who appear anxious for your return to England. * * * *

"I remain, my dear Lord,

Most faithfully yours,

H. SALT."

"To the Viscount Valentia."

About the close of June 1814, his labours were brought to a termination, and I think the work was published towards the end of the following July. It was dedicated by permission to his royal highness the Prince Regent; to some of whose splendid entertainments, given about that period, Mr. Salt had the honour of being invited. The book was well received by the public, and was read with avidity by those who, from their knowledge of the various topics it embraced, were best qualified to form a correct judgment of its merits. The whole appears to be written in a spirit of candour and truth which reflects the highest credit on the author. The narrative is told with much simplicity and perspicuity; and although, from the circumstances in which he was accidentally placed, it became, in a great measure, necessary for him to travel over nearly the same ground which he had traversed in his previous expedition; yet he has contrived to throw a degree of entertainment and interest over the account which could scarcely have been expected from even a veteran writer, and a less scrupulous adherent to fact.

The charts which are given in the work are laid down from his own observations and those

of Captain Weatherhead, and are considered, by the best informed persons in these matters, as remarkable for their minuteness and great accuracy; while his map of Abyssinia, in which he must have been left entirely to his own resources, is certainly, as far as his personal knowledge of the country admitted, the best and most correct now extant. The artists employed by the publisher in engraving the illustrations for the work, do not perhaps generally appear to have been of so high an order as those who were selected to execute some of the embellishments for Lord Valentia's Travels; but the plates are nevertheless full of character and nature, and may be relied on for their striking resemblance to the scenery and individuals they purport to represent. When the volume was ready for delivery, Mr. Salt presented some of his connexions and friends with a few early copies; and among others, the Right Hon. Charles Yorke and Sir Joseph Banks appear to have been much pleased by this mark of his attention, as well as with the work itself. From the former he received the following highly gratifying notes on the occasion.

"Boningtons, August 10, 1814.

"DEAR SIR,

"My servant sent me down yesterday, your very acceptable and valuable present of your late voyage to Abyssinia. I am particularly obliged by this mark of your attention, as well as by the honour you have done me in dedicating the plate of Amphila Bay to my name. Nobody is more interested and pleased with the direction, as well as the execution of your researches, which, in my humble judgment, have added considerably to the knowledge of the geography, as well as to the rational amusement of the public.

"I am always, dear sir,

Yours very faithfully,

C. YORKE."

"To Henry Salt, Esq."

A few days after Mr. Yorke again addressed him on the same subject.

"Boningtons, Aug. 14, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Since I wrote to you in acknowledgment of your valuable present of your book, I have received, from my servant in town, the Abyssinian drinking horn (of the Sanga ox), which has arrived perfectly safe. I consider it as a very great and interesting curiosity; and I am

greatly obliged to you for it. I shall preserve it carefully, in memory of your intrepid and successful peregrinations into a country scarcely known to modern Europe, as well as of your friend the Ras Welled Selassé; whose health, conjointly with your own, myself and friends here have not failed to drink out of it. I have read, or rather devoured, your most entertaining book, and am highly pleased with the whole of it; with the simplicity, clearness and modesty, as well of the arrangement and matter, as of the style. It only makes me desirous of more; and I trust we shall not fail to have the supplementary volume you hint at.

"I cordially concur with you in the concluding passage of your work, and heartily wish more interest may be felt, and greater pains may be taken, to support and improve the opening which has been made into that interesting country by your zeal, intrepidity, and perseverance; and to maintain and preserve that spark of Christianity, which has for so many ages distinguished Abyssinia from among the barbarous Mahometan and Pagan tribes which surround it, but which at present (unless effectual aid is given) appears to be trembling on the verge of utter darkness, and on the point of being lost.

and extinguished altogether. I remain always, with great regard, dear sir,

"Yours very truly,

C. YORKE."

"Henry Salt, Esq."

On the completion of this work he left London, and proceeded on a visit to his father and sister at Lichfield, where he received the above letters, together with one from Sir Joseph Banks, in which he speaks highly of the work, and adds — "I have already gained much information, and received great amusement from its perusal."

I do not exactly know Salt's movements after he quitted Lichfield early in September, though I believe he spent most of his time in Wales. The ultimate object of his excursion was to visit Lord Valentia in Ireland, and, as he informed his lordship previously, "to escape from the *horrors* of London criticism." He must have journeyed leisurely, as he did not reach Camolin Park, in Wexford, till about the beginning of October, whence he wrote me the following letter.

"Camolin Park, October 12th, 1814.

"DEAR HALLS,

"I left Lichfield early in September, in my gig, which I had got over from Arley, and, after a pleasant journey through Wales, arrived safely at Holyhead. Thence I passed over to Dublin in the packet, and was fortunate enough to have a remarkably fine passage. On my arrival I took up my residence at Tuthill's Hotel, and spent three days in seeing the lions, in the company of Mr. Patrick, whom by chance I met with in the course of my peregrinations. The public buildings of this city of the Pats are certainly on a magnificent scale, and being *united*, within a short distance of each other, produce on the whole a finer coup-d'œil than even London itself can boast: though, taken separately, they cannot vie with the noble edifices which adorn our metropolis. Nothing, however, strikes a stranger with more astonishment than the little attention which has been paid to the churches in Dublin. I was two days in finding the way to St. Patrick's Cathedral, and at last, when I got at it, was shocked at the mass of ruins, filth, and wretchedness, which surrounds it. The worst part of St. Giles's, or the purlieus of Rag Fair, near Smithfield, afford

a feeble picture of the buildings in the *Liberties* of Dublin; while the extreme dirtiness of the lower classes, and the raggedness of the beggars hovering round every corner of the streets, present a hopeless and despairing picture of the inhabitants.

"From Dublin I went over to Ravenswell, the seat of Mr. Wild, author of 'Travels in America,' &c. where I spent a very agreeable day, and visited the Dargle, a beautiful glen in the neighbourhood, which is resorted to by all the holiday citizens in Dublin. On the following day I proceeded to Clone Ro, which is situated in the most beautiful part of the county of Wicklow, where I remained with a family of the name of Eccles, admiring, in the company of some young damsels, all the beauties of that romantic spot. Thence I went to Wicklow, and from that place to Camolin. I found Lord Valentia just recovered from a violent attack of illness, which had endangered his life. He is now, I am happy to say, extremely well, as is also his son. On the second of this month we had the pleasure of celebrating the birthday of the latter, who has now reached his two-and-twentieth year, and it was kept in a manner perfectly suited to the occasion. An ox was

roasted in the park; bread and beer were distributed to thousands of poor people assembled, and an elegant dinner was given to all the nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood.

"It would have given you great pleasure to have seen Lord Valentia acting in his proper station. Everything went off exactly as it ought to have done. In the evening a splendid exhibition of rockets and fireworks astonished the wondering natives, and a bonfire on the top of a mountain, which overlooks the domain, announced the happy tidings to the surrounding country.

"This park and domain is laid out on a magnificent scale, at present in a rude state enough, but possessing great capabilities; and the taste which Lord Valentia has already displayed in the projected improvements, promises to make it one of the finest places in the county.

* * * * *

"Believe me to be, dear John,

Yours, &c.

H. SALT."

"P.S. Lord Valentia and Annesley desire to be remembered most particularly to you. They often mention you with terms of great feeling and friendship. Pray tell your sisters that they

may expect to find me, on my return, a perfect Irishman, as I have already acquired a very tolerable share of the brogue."

This was the only letter I received from him during his absence, and for several successive months I remained entirely ignorant of his proceedings. I am, however, enabled to fill up the vacancy from some letters he addressed to Lord Valentia during the interval.

After he had stayed at Camolin for some weeks he set out on his return to Dublin; but having been furnished by Lord Valentia with letters of introduction to several gentlemen whose mansions lay in his route, he did not reach that city so early as he expected. On his arrival there he wrote the following to his lordship.

" Tuthill's Hotel, Dublin,
" MY DEAR LORD, Dec. 1st, 1814.

" Owing to the kind introductions you gave me, I found so many pleasant houses on the road that I did not reach Dublin till to-day. I was detained two days at Mr. Beauman's by an incessant rain, and on my leaving him he so strongly urged me to visit Ballyarthurs, that I was induced to take an introduction from him to

Mr. Sims, who pressed me so much to stay a day or two, for the purpose of seeing the beauties of Sims's place, that I complied, and was exceedingly delighted with the views from his domain. On the Sunday morning I left Mr. Sims's and proceeded on my way, when being overtaken by the rain, and having lost a screw which fastened the spring of my gig, I called at Mr. Eccles's, where I stayed all night, and enjoyed the pleasure of once more seeing my brown beauty. On the Monday I got as far as Ballioni, and on delivering your letter, was received with great kindness by Mr. Latouche, who kept me all Tuesday, showing me the cottages and schools. I never was more delighted with any place or persons in my life, and shall always reflect on the time I spent there with great pleasure.

On leaving Ballioni on Wednesday, I received a very obliging invitation from Mrs. Latouche to visit them again, should I come over to Ireland next summer. Yesterday I spent with my acquaintance the Wilds, who with difficulty let me get away from them this morning. So that, in fact, I have been quite spoiled by the manner in which I have been fêted since I left you. * * * Thank Mr. Annesley for the game, which reached

me safely. I will write to him before I leave Dublin. * * My kind remembrance to him.

"Believe me, my dear lord,

Yours, &c.

H. SALT."

A short time afterwards he again wrote to Lord Valentia, and, as this letter (as well as the preceding) gives an agreeable picture of the generous hospitality of the Irish character, I insert it.

"Dublin, Dec. 10th, 1814.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have been rather expecting to hear from you since my last letter, but I imagine that nothing particular has occurred in which I could be of service to you in Dublin; and in this case I know by my own feelings, that writing, even to our best friends, seldom proves an object of amusement. I have now been a week in Dublin, and have every day been engaged to one party or another, in the course of which I have enjoyed the company of most of those who are esteemed eminent in the society of the capital. I yesterday dined with Mr. Driscol, where I met the Solicitor-General, Mr. Bushe, the provost of the college, and Mr. Nolan, a gentleman who has

lately returned from Paris; and upon the whole, I never spent a pleasanter evening, as they were all in high spirits, and anxious, in spite of Annesley's objection to the subject, to turn the conversation upon Abyssinia.

"I found Mr. Edgeworth jun. at home, and at his house met a party of the Institutional class, who chiefly conversed on the Belles-Lettres, and unanimously admired Madame de Stael. I have also received a very pressing invitation to visit Edgeworth's Town, but this I have declined. * * * Mr. Blenherhasset invited me to dinner, but I happened to be engaged. Of Mr. Sneyd I have seen nothing. Colonel Austin was absent on my arrival in Dublin, but returned yesterday. Lord Caledon came up with him, and immediately afterwards called upon me, pressing me strongly to pay him a visit in the North. * * * I have accepted his invitation, and on Saturday I proceed thither in the mail. Thence I shall go to Port Patrick, and so to Lichfield. * * * * Our friend Crosby† is at present in Dublin, and has made many anxious inquiries respecting you. He hopes that you will be able, as you have partly promised, to

† The late Lord Bradford.

visit Killarney with me next year, and he promises a beef-steak and a hearty welcome.

"I am, my dear lord,

Yours most truly,

H. SALT."

"P.S. If you direct, within the next ten days, to Lord Caledon, I shall get your letter."

At Lord Caledon's, he used to say, he spent a most delightful time. Though he was there in the depth of winter, he made many admirable pencil sketches in his lordship's grounds (as well as in other parts of Ireland which he visited) of the scenery and inhabitants; all of which are highly characteristic, and equal to any of his published drawings. The book which contained them was for a long time in my possession, but I parted with it, some years ago, to the present Viscount Valentia.

From Lord Caledon's, Mr. Salt proceeded, in the beginning of February 1815, to visit the Giant's Causeway, which greatly disappointed him; and indeed from the sketches he took of it, I should be inclined to think that the descriptions sometimes given of it, must be rather highly coloured. He acknowledged, however, that he saw it under very unfavourable circumstances.

On leaving Ireland he crossed the channel, and arrived at Port Patrick, whence he proceeded to Edinburgh, apparently forgetting in the mean while that he had previously been engaged to go to London, *via* Dublin, with Lord Valentia. This neglect occasioned, I believe, rather a sharp remonstrance from his lordship, who was obliged to visit England alone, and to return to Ireland without having seen him. The following reply from Salt, in April, after his return to London, somewhat explains the circumstances of the case, and also gives an account of his proceedings.

"London, April 13th, 1815.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I received your letter last night, and am exceedingly obliged to you for the very *proper scolding* you have given me, feeling satisfied that it proceeds from the kind interest you take in my welfare; at the same time I beg to assure you that I am by no means so much in fault as you suppose. I wrote to you from Lord Caledon's, and never received any answer, and it was there that my address continued until the beginning of February; so that, had you written to me that you were actually setting off for England, I should have immediately proceeded

to town. On my arrival at Edinburgh (to which I was led not by an 'idle fancy,' but from the wish to see the literary men of the place, and to promote the interests of my work) I wrote to Halls to inform him of it, but the letter unfortunately did not reach him till after you had left London. My visit to Edinburgh proved most satisfactory. I became well acquainted with Mr. Dugald Stewart, Playfair, Jeffrey, Scott, and all the principal people in the place; and my father, on my return to Lichfield, was so pleased with the attention I there received, that he made me a present adequate to the whole expense of my journey.* I hope this

* I have hardly ever met with a more singular character than old Mr. Salt. The general habits of his life were strictly parsimonious; yet, as in the present instance, he often without a word of censure would give his son very considerable sums. The following will serve as a specimen of the mode in which he disposed of affairs of this nature.

"Lichfield, March 12th, 1812.

"DEAR HENRY,

"In a few days you will have credit at Downs and Thornton's for 500*l.*, which I hope may serve you. When you have been at the banker's, you will return me an acknowledgment; at the same time I shall be glad to hear you are perfectly well. You must now call upon your own energies and care, otherwise you will convert your *magnum bonum* into a hedge sloe. "Yours affectionately,

THOMAS SALT."

statement will exculpate me from any impropriety of conduct. I sincerely regret that I was not in town with you, as I feel most fully aware that it would have contributed greatly both to my pleasure and interest, and I heartily beg your pardon for not writing—in which I was guilty of unintentional neglect. Poor Pearce! I had indeed hoped he was reserved for better things. His death and the manner of it are most melancholy occurrences, and have given me much pain. As to the report of Coffin's decease, I own I cannot still help entertaining hopes that Captain Rudland may prove mistaken.*

"I have now to communicate an event which is of much consequence to me. Yesterday I received intelligence that Major Misset, the Consul-General in Egypt, had resigned, and that his resignation had been accepted. In conse-

On a similar occasion he concludes his letter with the following laconic advice. "So take care—remember all mankind are dogs, the B——s being the worst." In this way, speaking within compass, he gave Henry alone, at different times in his life, two thousand pounds, besides the expenses attendant on his education. It is true he was very fond of him, and perhaps felt justly proud of his abilities, enterprising spirit, and amiable character.—E.

* This report of their deaths was afterwards found to be without foundation; though both their families went, I believe, into mourning on the occasion.—E.

quence I waited directly on Mr. ——— who is confined by illness, and he promised immediately to write, in my favour, to Lord Castlereagh, urging my claims, which he admitted 'were undoubtedly such as would entitle me to the situation, if no private patronage interfered.' I then went over to Boningtons to Mr. Yorke, and he instantly wrote a very strong letter in my behalf to Lord Castlereagh; requesting, at the same time, that he would give me a personal interview on the subject: this, on my return at six, I delivered. This morning I have been to Sir Joseph Banks, and he has also written in the strongest terms to Lord Castlereagh. I have now to beg that you will have the goodness to do all you can for me, either by letter, or by whatever means you may choose to advise, as my mind is most earnestly bent on obtaining the situation, and I know to a certainty that nothing has yet been determined upon respecting the appointment of Major Misset's successor. You must be well aware how necessary it is to use despatch in the business; though I have not heard that any person has yet applied for the situation, except one, who is said, at the office, to have no chance of success. I have been in London about ten days, and have intended to

write every day to make my apologies; but somehow or other delayed it. I did not hear of the above till yesterday.

"Yours most faithfully, H. S."

"To the Viscount Valentia."

It seems from the following short letter, that Mr. Salt was not long kept in a state of suspense respecting his appointment, Lord Castlereagh having very quickly made up his mind, as soon as he had received the strong recommendatory letters that had been forwarded to him on the occasion.

"May 2nd, 1815.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have just been informed, privately, from the best authority, that Lord Castlereagh has consented to my appointment as Consul-General in Egypt. This situation is, I hear, about 1700*l.* a year. There is another situation, which Misset held under Lord Bathurst, but this, I fear, will not be renewed. To have gained the main thing, however, is of great consequence, and I am sure no one will more sincerely rejoice in my success than your lordship. As soon as anything absolutely official is known, I will write again.

"Believe me, &c. H. S."

"P.S. Mr. Yorke and Sir Joseph Banks have both been most kind in the business. To the former I am principally indebted for the situation."

"To the Viscount Valentia."

Though his appointment was in fact determined upon at the date of the above letter, Salt did not officially receive intelligence on the subject till after several weeks had elapsed, Lord Castlereagh being probably too much engaged by public events, at that awful crisis, to permit his employing his attention upon matters of a more trifling import. The delay, however, seems to have occasioned Salt some uneasiness, as appears by the following extracts from a letter addressed to Lord Valentia at that period.

"London, 109, Great Russel Street,

"MY DEAR LORD, May 10th, 1815.

"I feel very grateful to you for the letter which you have written to me respecting the Egyptian consulship. I submitted it to Mr. Yorke's inspection, and though he thinks it may not be necessary at present, yet, when Lord Castlereagh takes the subject up in a more advanced stage of the business, he is of opinion that it may materially serve me. He desired to be

most particularly remembered to you, and told me to assure you that he will do all in his power to promote my plans. * * * * * Mr. Yorke's and Sir Joseph Banks's letters have been placed by Lord Castlereagh in the office, but he does not seem as yet to have taken the matter into consideration, being, no doubt, pretty much engaged on matters of higher importance. You will easily conceive how anxious I feel during the suspense, as, in fact, my plans for life turn upon the success of my present attempt. Should I fail in procuring the situation, I shall think it necessary to adopt immediately some other professional line, but what, I cannot at present determine. * * * *

"Believe me, my dear Lord,
Yours most truly, H. S."

"The Viscount Valentia,
Camolin Park, Ireland."

Mr. Salt must have officially received his appointment about the end of May or the beginning of June, as I find by a letter from his father, that the latter had been made acquainted with it about that time. His father was anxious that he should come to Lichfield before his departure, to meet his eldest sister, who came expressly for

the purpose from a distant part of the country, in order that the family might be assembled once more together, to take, as it unhappily proved, their final farewell of him. His brother Charles was incapable of attending on the occasion, being confined by severe illness in London.

About this period Lord Valentia wrote Salt the following kind letter, requesting that he would visit him at Arley previously to his quitting the country.

"Camolin Park, Ireland,

"MY DEAR HENRY, July 9th, 1815.

"I shall set off on the 17th, and expect to reach Arley on the 21st, for I should be very sorry that you left England without my again seeing you; and as it is uncertain whether I shall go to London, I do most earnestly request you will pay me a visit at Arley. Consider how long we may now be separated, and the possibility, not to say probability, that we may never again meet in this world. After we have been friends so many years, I cannot suppose you will go without coming to me. You know that the coach runs to Kidderminster direct, or you can see your old aunt at Worcester, and come on to Shutterford turnpike. I will be at peace with

you if you stay only one day. If you do not do this, I shall be really hurt. Should you write by return of post, direct, under cover, to the Honourable G. Cavendish, Treasury Chambers, Dublin. If you write afterwards, direct to Arley. "Yours most affectionately,

VALENTIA."

Before the receipt of the above, Salt must have set off for Lichfield, as he dates the subsequent letter to his lordship from that place, and directs to Camolin. The subjoined are extracts.

"Lichfield, July 19th, 1815.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I hope that you still keep your determination of coming to England before my departure, as I feel most anxious to see you, for the purpose of hearing all your wishes, respecting the antiquities, &c. &c. that you are desirous of my procuring for you in Egypt. At the same time I am desirous of having a few days even of your company before our long separation takes place. * * * I mean to set off as soon as possible, and I therefore have determined on going early in next month. I propose making a tour over the Continent in my way, and shall visit Paris,

Switzerland, Venice, Rome, Naples, and Sicily, before I reach Malta; thence, of course, I shall proceed by sea. All my packages will be sent by the latter conveyance, and will, I have no doubt, get there before my arrival, which cannot, I think, be earlier than the middle of October. * * * * *

"I resume the subject of my journey. One of Sir William Beechey's sons is to go out with me. * * * This will, for a year or two, I conceive, be very pleasant to us both. * * * * He draws well, and understands French and Italian. Briggs is going to Alexandria about the same time as I am, and perhaps in company with me. I have just heard the confirmed news that poor Rudland is dead. It comes direct from his wife. * * * * I return to town on Tuesday next, and hope to find a letter from you by that time. If you cannot come to England, pray write me very full instructions.

"Believe me most affectionately yours,

H. S."

"The Viscount Valentia, Camolin, Ireland."

During his stay at Lichfield at this period, Salt formed an acquaintance with a young lady of great personal attractions and accomplish-

ments, and of the highest respectability. I have understood that she was an inhabitant of Birmingham, and, being an only child, was likely to inherit considerable property. From the time of his being appointed Consul-General in Egypt he became desirous of entering into a matrimonial engagement, as, from his former experience, he was well acquainted with the great want of reputable female society in that country. Under these circumstances, and possessing, as he now did, an handsome income and an highly respectable appointment, it is not perhaps to be wondered at, when an interesting woman had thus accidentally fallen in his way, that he somewhat suddenly determined on a step which appeared to hold forth a fair prospect of domestic happiness.

The distance between Birmingham and Lichfield being inconsiderable, he saw much of her in the course of his stay at the former place, and the more he saw of her the more he had reason to admire the excellence of her disposition and character. He became in the end very seriously attached, and I have heard, as far as the lady herself was concerned, not without well-grounded hopes of success; but her father, perhaps from the short acquaintance of the parties, and

possibly from the well-grounded fear of the climate to which she must have been exposed, as well as of the long separation that would have taken place between him and an only and beloved child, felt it his duty to oppose a match, of which I have been told, under other circumstances, he would not have disapproved.

But whatever might have been the cause of the refusal, it does not seem to have been of so determined a species as to extinguish all hope in the breast of Mr. Salt for some considerable time after, and not till he had received a definitive rejection, as it appears, from the lady herself, on the ground of her not liking to encounter the hazards of such a country as Egypt. The disappointment he felt severely, but I know he made his will in her favour, which was not reversed till about the time of his marriage in Egypt some years subsequently. It is rather a remarkable circumstance, that his wife bore a striking resemblance to the lady above-mentioned, and that it was from this similarity that he was led, in the first instance, to pay his attentions to a person who was destined to form the happiness of his domestic life during the few years she was permitted to comfort and embellish his existence. The following extracts from

a letter, written to an intimate friend, will best show the state of his mind when his former suit was finally broken off by the lady.

"Cairo, April 2nd, 1817.

"DEAR RICHARDS,

"* * * Nothing has given me greater pleasure than the information respecting your marriage. I have been a long time satisfied that it affords the only reasonable hope of being happy on earth, to meet with a woman of amiable disposition, who will take a lively interest in all our concerns. Early marriages, I think, are seldom likely to answer; but, when arrived at a reasonable time of life, the mind begins sensibly to feel the want of such a companion as a wife, and then becomes fully able to appreciate her value. It has not been my own fault, certainly, that I am still a bachelor, and yet such it appears I am likely to remain. The affair between Miss —— and myself is at an end. I told her, too frankly for my own interest, the actual state of things in this country, and, by the advice of her friends, she has thought it right to break off the proposed connexion. I have nothing to complain of, nay, under all circumstances, I am forced to admit that she was

probably right. If she had not the necessary courage to surmount all difficulties, she was perfectly justified in declining to encounter them. Her memory I shall always retain as dear to me, but it is like the memory of one who to me is dead. * * * * *

"Yours, &c. H. S."

"To Bingham Richards, Esq."

The following lines, addressed to the lady in question, I accidentally met with in looking over some of his papers.

"ON MARY'S BIRTH-DAY.

"Though lurid clouds obscure the air
And angry winds howl o'er the sea,
Let not arise a single care
To damp this day's festivity.

'Tis contrast gives each joy its zest;
Thus, nourished up with tenderest care,
The damask rose in wintry vest
Shines forth more elegant, as rare.

So, in November's chilling hour,
Thy winning smiles and beauties beam
Bright as the rays in April's shower,
Which from the sun's gold tresses gleam.

Yet, not alone can beauty charm,
Unstable is her power at best;
'Tis genius must thy bosom warm!
'Tis virtue that must make thee blest!

Then, oh, sweet girl! while yet to-day
Thy soul is free from thought of ill,
List to an absent lover's lay,
'And cherish his remembrance still!'

Then, as improved 'in mind and face,'
Your days pass on, in virtue spent,
Love shall shine forth with such a grace
That e'en a father may relent.

And though rude clouds obscure the sky
And angry winds rush o'er the sea,
Yearly our hearts shall glow with joy
To greet this day's festivity!"

It appears from several circumstances that the letter Lord Valentia addressed to him from Ireland was delayed at his lodgings, and did not reach him till his return to London; but in the course of his visits from Lichfield to Birmingham it is probable that he learned the arrival of his lordship at Arley Hall, and immediately went over to see him. He reached the latter place on the 29th of July 1815, and stayed till the 31st. On the 3rd of August he again went, and on the 8th took his last farewell of his affectionate and noble friend. From their respective feelings and character, the parting on both sides must have proved painful in the extreme. They had then been intimately acquainted for a period of sixteen years, and in the course of that space

of time had encountered together many perils and dangers, which had only served to cement more closely a friendship that had originated on the one hand in acts of kindness and benevolence, and on the other, in a sense of lasting gratitude for favours that had been so unostentatiously conferred.

In a few days afterwards Mr. Salt returned to London, and about the 22nd of August took his final departure from the capital to proceed, by way of Europe, to the place of his ultimate destination. Having some affairs of a private nature to arrange with me, and being desirous of spending in my company the few hours he had yet to pass in the metropolis, he came to dine with me and my sisters the evening before he quitted town. We sat till a late hour, endeavouring to defer till the last moment the distressing trial that awaited us.

I shall attempt no description of our mutual feelings on this melancholy occasion; indeed I can scarcely call to my remembrance distinctly anything that passed, beyond a kind of presentiment, which the event has too severely verified, that we parted to meet no more in this world. He was to leave London at ten o'clock the next morning, and it was agreed between us, in order

to avoid the pain of a second farewell, that I was not to go to his lodgings till an hour afterwards, to secure the papers he had left in my charge. On the morrow I accordingly went punctually to my time, but, on entering Great Russell Street, I saw from a distance the post-chaise, that was to convey him, still standing at his door.

I cannot pretend to analyse the feelings by which I was governed at the moment, and which induced me to determine not to enter the house till after his departure, but I actually paced up and down the opposite end of the street for nearly an hour, till I saw the chaise drive off. It was no sooner out of sight, however, than a complete revulsion in my ideas took place, and I would have given anything to have recalled the past moments; but it was then too late, and I was condemned to feel, in all its bitterness, my melancholy foreboding, that I had indeed seen him for the last time.

From London he proceeded to Brighton, where he arrived in the evening, and stayed till the next day. My brother chanced to be then resident in the neighbourhood, and, by the annexed letter, which I have recently received from him, I learn the particulars of Mr. Salt's final departure from England.

" Bow Street, Oct. 18th, 1833.

" DEAR JOHN,

" I was at Brighton when poor Salt took his last departure from his country. He sailed in the regular packet for Dieppe, in his way to Paris. I dined with him at the New Steyne Hotel, in company with Mr. Littledale, the brother of the present Mr. Justice Littledale, with whom he was on very friendly terms, as a pleasing and somewhat brilliant companion. I know not whether he is still living. Salt was extremely cheerful during the whole of dinner, and indeed we made it our business rather to keep up his spirits, which I, who knew him perhaps best, could perceive to vibrate, and his eye occasionally glanced towards the sea. About half an hour after dinner a gun was fired. There was a pause, but he looked not towards the sea this time. 'It's only the first gun,' said he; 'we have yet a quarter of an hour good:'—and he ordered another bottle of claret.

" You know our familiar phraseology:—'It's a very fine world, Tom?' said he.—'Yes,' I replied, 'and it's a very fine scene! But we must not make too much of a *scene* of it.'—'Right!' said he, with one of his particular looks; and then he asked Littledale for one of

his stories. We shortly afterwards walked down together to the Custom House, opposite to which lay a large boat, already filled with passengers. I think Littledale took leave of him on the beach. I went down with him to the boat. I am not sure, but I do not think I took any formal leave of him at all. I let go his arm, and he was in the boat in an instant, but I declare I do not know how he got thither, for the boat was large, and stood high above the water.

"Every one who knows Brighton is aware what both landing and embarking there was before the chain pier was built, especially if there were the slightest swell. Salt stood up in the stern of the boat. There were a number of females and others on board, huddled together at the other end. As the boat was with difficulty shoved off, Salt spoke to them, and turning to me, laughing, pointed out a large coming wave, which, just as the boat was getting afloat, broke over its head, and there was an universal squall among the females, and a general laugh, which for the moment broke in opportunely enough upon our feelings. As the boat cleared the surf he still stood up, and waved his hand to me. I watched its progress towards the

packet, which lay about a quarter of a mile off. It was a hot summer's evening, and, with the exception of the slight swell in-shore, the sea was like glass; and the tall figure of Salt was reflected in the water with a distinctness which is not yet obliterated from my perfect recollection. I turned and walked slowly away. I had three miles up the country to go to join my family. At the rise of a hill the packet was still visible, but as a speck. I walked on a little farther, and turned again. The speck was gone! —and I remember I was not quite myself all the remainder of the evening.

"This is all I can remember of poor Salt's departure. I do not recollect whether he made any previous stay at Brighton; the impression on my mind is, that he only remained one night at the Steyne Hotel, and embarked as soon as his packages had passed the Custom House, where they had all to be entered as the property of his Majesty's Consul-General in Egypt.

"Your affectionate brother,

THOMAS HALLS."

CHAPTER XVI.

Salt's first Letter after leaving England.—He writes to the Author from Naples.—Detailed Account of his Journey, to Lord Valentia. — Letter to Mr. Hamilton. — Salt is detained at Malta.—His Correspondence with the Author.

For some months after Mr. Salt's departure for Egypt I received no intelligence of his proceedings, his curiosity being probably too much excited by the succession of interesting objects which crowded on his attention, to permit him to think of home till the novelty of his situation had in a certain degree worn off. The first letter from him, I believe, that reached England was the following one, addressed to Lord Valentia from Geneva, in which he gives a rapid sketch of his journey and observations.

"Geneva, Oct. 7th, 1815.

"My dear Lord,

"* * * * I shall now proceed to make a few remarks, which occurred to me while in France, respecting the present disturbed state of

affairs in that unfortunate country, and the probable issue of the contest with the allies. A king without power, a ministry scarcely established, and a parliament not yet assembled, form the only appearance of a government existing in the country; while on the other hand, the European powers, who do not agree very well among themselves, continue to keep up an enormous force, preying upon the country; so that the people are almost driven to despair, and an outrageous and strong faction stands ready to seize the first feasible opportunity of inflicting a terrible vengeance on the Royalists, whom it accuses of having brought all the evils on the nation. Talleyrand and Fouche, as you must have learned from the papers, were both dismissed as soon as the King found, by the return of the members of the lower House, that he might venture to do it with safety. The Royalists have, in consequence, gained the ascendancy, and if they act only with sufficient vigour, under a powerful support from the allies, may succeed in saving the country. But, to effect this, they must banish three or four hundred of the opposing faction, and must retain, for a certain time at least, a hundred and fifty thousand foreign troops to uphold their authority, which

must be placed under the direction of some very able general, while a large force must be kept up in the adjoining states, ready, when called upon, to enter the kingdom. This plan would place France much in the same situation as that of the Indian states under the protection of the British arms, and you may depend upon it, that no other plan can keep Louis on the throne. If the united powers keep faithful to their engagements, and attend with common prudence to their joint interest, something like this will be carried into execution. But there is, unfortunately, too much reason to suppose that the seeds of dissension are already matured, and that a new war will break out, between the Russians and the Turks, that will again set the powers of Europe in arms against each other.

"Soon after my arrival at Paris I made a journey with Sir Sydney Smyth, to see the review of the Russian troops at Vertus. One of the finest plains in Champagne had been chosen for the occasion, and certainly nothing could surpass the exhibition, in a military point of view. The whole surface on which the soldiers manœuvred was flat as a table, and was commanded by a moderately high mountain, on which the Emperor and his company were sta-

tioned. From this height every corps might be distinctly seen, and the effect of one hundred and fifty thousand men, supported by five hundred pieces of artillery, moving by signal and firing at one moment, was grand in the extreme. Lord Wellington observed, in my hearing, that 'it was the finest sight he had ever witnessed; that it was a fair, honest review, and that it gave him a much higher opinion of the Russians than he had ever before entertained.' At the review, the Emperors of Austria, Russia, the King of Prussia, and half a hundred other princes, were present, and, as I had carried with me an uniform for the occasion, I was admitted with Sir Sydney into the circle.

"In the small town of Vertus, the generals and nobles were huddled together in a manner inconceivably ridiculous, occupying the very wretched apartments in the miserable huts of which the place is composed; yet, in the midst of the confusion which such an assemblage necessarily produced, there did not appear to be the slightest symptom of oppression on the part of the military, or of suffering on that of the inhabitants. The country people in the market-place carried on their bargains with as careful a regard to their interests as usual, and I observed

many Russian soldiers sent away from the stalls because they would not consent to give, up to half a sous, the price demanded for the several articles on sale. Indeed, throughout the whole country it is a remarkable circumstance, that the Russians have acquired the highest character for fair dealing and forbearance, and seem to be universally respected. The conduct of the English has also been admirable; but that of the Prussians, Bavarians, and Austrians, has excited an absolute detestation throughout all the districts which they have occupied.'

"Nothing has produced so strong a sensation among the French as the taking away of the pictures and statues from the Louvre. This very sensible and politic measure has rendered the malignant part of the populace perfectly furious, as it at once lowers their pride in the face of the world, and will serve as an everlasting testimony of their having been conquered. Had the works of art remained, the old excuse of treachery would have been reiterated, and the French would still have asserted 'that we did not dare to meddle with any of their trophies of conquest.' The history of the removal of the pictures, &c. is extremely curious, and the means by which it was effected worthy of being recorded,

with which at some future period I will make you acquainted. At present the idea sent abroad is, that it was a measure so pressed upon Lord Castlereagh by several members of the House of Commons, that he was compelled to bring it forward, and with this, some of the more talkative of those gentlemen who have visited Paris have been very adroitly amused, though in fact they had nothing whatever to do with the circumstance.

"The work of devastation had been nearly completed when I left Paris; all the Flemish, and most of the Venetian pictures, had been removed, and the Venus de Medici was on her way to Florence, and most of the Italian pictures and statues were soon to follow, as well as the Venetian Horses, which it really was a mercy to take from the execrable triumphal arch on which they had been placed. It is to be hoped that the removal of these works of art will, in a great degree, prevent the concourse of strangers to Paris, which will afford a striking proof of the wisdom of the measure. Halls, as usual, will growl a little at this 'act of oppression,' as he will term it, but the time for conciliatory measures is past. The French have no hearts, and nothing short of absolute compulsion will ever

bring them back to a system of moderation. Fortunately for France (as well as England), as I mentioned rather maliciously to one of the French painters, they will still have the *superb* works of David to console them for their losses.

"On our way from Paris to this place, we

* I have not been able to find among his papers the promised explanation as to the removal of the pictures, &c. to which Salt alludes in the above letter. I differed from him on the subject of their abstraction at the time, and I still differ from him. It always has appeared to me, and it was so declared by the Allies, that they made war with Buonaparte, not with the French nation. The armies of Europe had succeeded in crushing that tremendous man, and they had placed on the throne of France its ancient dynasty. Whom, then, were they despoiling when they deprived Louis's capital of its most valuable embellishments? Their friend and their ally, and the nation with whom they had previously asserted they were not at war! If the restoration of the works of art to the former possessors arose from a sense of retributive justice, then it ought to have taken place at the preceding pacification. I do not say it should even then have been attempted, but it might certainly have been done at that time with a better grace, as we had been for years actually engaged in hostilities both with the Government and the nation, and had a presumptive right to make what terms we pleased with the vanquished. To enter into the policy of the transaction in this place is unnecessary; but it is to be wished that states, as well as individuals, would more frequently bear in mind the simple maxim, that "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."—E.

passed through a line of country held by the Austrians, and, if the French people are to be trusted, nothing can be more rapacious than their conduct. The contributions which they have raised have been enormous, and, not satisfied with this, they have not unfrequently proceeded to personal violence. The passage of the Jura brought us at once into a residence of a more peaceable aspect — the valley of Geneva, which is one of the most delicious spots on the face of the globe. Happily too, the character of its inhabitants accords most agreeably with the surrounding scenery, and presents a mixture of sober simplicity, solid information, and gaiety, that is delightful to contemplate. Nothing can afford a more striking contrast, nor a more useful lesson to the mind, than the sight of what is passing at Geneva and at Paris. At one all is tumult, dissipation, show, wretchedness, and vanity; while at the other, a quiet and agreeable society, linked together by the best ties of the heart, is sweetened by the charms of great intellectual acquirements, and presents such a picture of happiness, as to satisfy the spectator at once of the futility of all earthly grandeur. As a retreat from the world, to a philosopher, no spot on earth can surely offer

more gratification than the valley of Geneva. Pray remember me kindly to your son, and Believe me most truly yours, H. S."

" To the Viscount Valentia."

From Geneva Mr. Salt proceeded over the Semplon to Italy, visiting in his route many of the principal cities of that country. On his arrival at Naples, immediately before his embarkation for Malta, he wrote me the subjoined letter.

" Naple Jan. 5th, 1816.

" MY DEAR HALLS,

" I have great pleasure in giving you the information of my safe arrival at this place, after a most delightful tour through Italy by way of Venice, Bologna, Florence, and Rome. The journey from the latter place was conceived to be somewhat dangerous; but we fortunately reached Naples without meeting either robbers or hindrance of any kind, and have since been most busily engaged in visiting all the surprising curiosities to be found in the environs of this place. Having made notes of whatever most interested me, I shall, when I get quietly settled, send you some account of my peregrinations, and shall, in particular, dwell upon the works of

art which I have seen, and which I much wish you could find time to come over and examine, as they so far surpass all I had expected, that they have given me a new view of the arts. I leave this place for Malta in the Spartan frigate to-morrow, and expect to arrive there in about four days. If I stay any time there, which depends entirely on the admiral, I will write you a long letter, till when you must be content to take up with this short epistle. Hoppner gave us a very kind reception at Venice, and appears to be very happy with his wife. She is, as you know, a Swiss, and does not speak a hundred words of English; but her French is charming, and her manners very amiable. * * * * * * Give my kind regards to your sisters, and to Tom, and believe me more than ever,

"Your affectionate friend, H. S."

In the next letter to Lord Valentia, he gives a more full and detailed account of his journey.

"My dear Lord, "Malta, Jan. 26th, 1816.

"I have great pleasure in acquainting you with my arrival at this place, after having completed a very delightful tour on the Continent, which has enabled me to see all that I wished

in Italy, and as much as I shall ever desire of what was lately termed the *great* nation. Thank God! it is at last humbled, and it will require many years before it can again trouble the repose of Europe. I was delighted beyond measure with my journey from Geneva over the Semplon. It far exceeded all I had ever conceived of picturesque beauty, and made me continually wish that you had been with me, as no one would have participated more strongly in the feelings which it is calculated to inspire. At every turn of the road some new object of interest presented itself. Rudely shaped rocks, covered with verdure of the most brilliant colours, from the darkest greens to the brightest yellows and reds — fertile meadows interspersed with trees, in which the shepherds and sheperdesses, in true Arcadian style, sat watching their flocks — mountains piled on mountains in the distance, some covered with snow, and others glowing with the warm beams of the sun, continually changing their forms and hues as we advanced — produced altogether a variety of effects which no other country can pretend to equal. Your lordship and I have seen everything beautiful that the East can boast; but I can assure you that, in comparison with Swiss

scenery, it is like the works of modern painters compared with those of Salvator and Claude. I was not aware that I had any enthusiasm left in my composition; but when I got into the midst of this scenery I could scarcely contain my feelings, and, in spite of myself, my sketch-book was continually in hand; so that should I find at any time lack of matter in Egypt, I shall have enough to employ me in finishing some of my memorandums.

"I met with our friend Admiral Freemantle at Milan, who gave me a very useful letter to the Governor of this place. The admiral is staying with his family at that city for the winter. I also got acquainted there with Sir Robert and Lady Lawley, whom I afterwards spent some very pleasant time with at Florence. My calèche which I bought at Rouen, proved a very good one, and carried me very pleasantly across the country—from Milan, to Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, to Venice. The whole of this country is flat, monotonous, and uninteresting, intersected at regular right angles with ditches and rows of trees; yet still, as a Frenchman terms it in the book of roads, 'bien fertile, riante, et agréable.' We soon, however, got tired of such agreeable views, and were glad to get to Venice. Here I found my friend Mr.

Hoppner, with his young Swiss wife, who is pretty and amiable, and well calculated to make him happy. The town itself is an uncomfortable place to reside in,—everything appears to be sullied by the stagnant waters with which it is environed. From this charge, however, I must except the paintings, which are exceedingly fine and numerous, and give an idea of the Venetian school, that it is impossible to acquire in England. Tintoret is quite a giant in his art, and Paul Veronese has a strength, brilliancy, truth and purity, in the colouring of his pictures, which places him above competition. Some of the best pictures by Titian are likewise to be seen here; among which the Cain and Abel, David and Goliah, and Abraham and Isaac, all painted on the ceiling, are the most extraordinary. They are executed in the same grand style as his St. Peter Martyr, which was exhibited at Paris; and prove, in my opinion, that even in the higher branches of the art, when he has only a few figures to deal with, he is quite equal to Raphael.*

* The objects which these two great artists had mainly in view are so extremely dissimilar, that they cannot with propriety be compared with each other. Titian was distinguished by colour, Raphael by design.—E.

"Everything at Venice partakes of an Oriental appearance. The buildings are bad Arabesque. The churches resemble mosques, and the people, I verily believe, are half Moors and half Christians. There was nothing that I missed so much as the Doge and the venerable senators in their long gowns. In taking away their freedom they might, at least, have left them the forms of their constitution, and have permitted the accustomed marriage with the sea to have taken place, if it had only been for the amusement of the people. It is painful to witness the abject degradation of a place once so celebrated in history. Had the town been only a few miles farther from the Continent, it might never have happened.

"The road from Padua to Ferrara was scarcely passable; but fortunately with two additional horses we managed to get there in safety. The rapid Po, with its curious little mills, floating at anchor in the stream, was the only object of interest which occurred. As these singular machines are all painted, they produced many picturesque views from the banks. The mode of crossing the river is the same as at Arley, but with a line of boats to support the length of rope which is necessary to reach from side to side.

"At Bologna we met with a very celebrated literary character, Signor Mezzofanti, who speaks three or four-and-twenty languages, and is equally versed in polite literature as in Hebrew. At this place the works of Guido and his scholars are seen in great perfection; but the style of this master, except in a few splendid instances, was too feeble to form a school, and consequently its fame is almost confined to Bologna. Elizabeth Sorani, who painted with a very elegant pencil, was one of the most successful, and she is said to have fallen a sacrifice, at an early age, to the malice of her contemporaries. Our passage from Bologna to Florence over the Apennines was accomplished by mules, and owing to the snow and ice on the top was not very agreeable. The descent, however, into what may be truly termed the 'bella Italia,' amply repaid us for the inconvenience we had suffered. Our stay at Florence (which is, in my mind, the most beautiful of all the Italian cities) was made very pleasant by the attentions of Lord Burghersh, our minister with the Grand Duke. The latter was absent at the time on a visit to the Emperor, a circumstance which we did not regret, as it gave us a better opportunity of seeing his palaces.

"The gallery also, notwithstanding the de-

spoliation it suffered from the French, afforded us many hours of delightful recreation; and I was particularly gratified by the drawings of Titian, the Carracci, and others, who alone seem to me to have possessed the right manner of sketching from Nature. I was glad to find that they generally used the pencil in their first outline, and that they afterwards went carefully over it with ink—a practice which I always considered as the best. I have not time to dwell long either upon Rome or Naples, and by this time you will be pretty well tired of the length of my epistle. At the first of these places I found Lord Glenbervie's family and Mr. North, who invited me repeatedly to dine with them. I also met Lord William Bentinck, who afterwards called upon me. I visited the old Pope, who received me like a father, and spoke with great feeling of his obligations to the English. I got acquainted with Cardinal Gonsalvi for the purpose of making inquiries respecting the celebrated work of Peter Paez; but I am sorry to say all our research was in vain—no such book can at present be traced at Rome. I also failed in getting a sight of the original of your MS. which I translated; but the authenticity of it is undoubted. The convent of St. Pietro de Mon-

torio was despoiled by the French, and this work, as well as many others, lost in the wreck.

"I had the luck of finding at a bookseller's at Rome a copy of the work of Tellez, in Portugueze, which Mr. Heber bought over my head at forty pounds, and by good fortune I purchased it for about six shillings. It is a better copy than any in England, and came into the hands of the bookseller out of a Spanish nobleman's collection who happened to die in the neighbourhood of Rome. It is quite complete. * * * I have besides discovered another short voyage made into Abyssinia, after Bruce, by three more Franciscans, which is curious, and of which an account was published in 1810 at Naples—of this I have likewise a copy. You will rejoice with me to hear that the news respecting Pearce's death was incorrect. I have received letters from him of a much later date, and he appears to have gotten the better of the dreadful malady with which he was afflicted. The Ras has been successful in his campaigns, and has completely overcome his old enemies Guxo and Gojee. He has established Tecla Georgis as King at Axum, who is the first sovereign that has reigned there for eleven hundred years; and thus one of the great objects that we have looked to is accomplished.

"I shall leave this in a few days on board one of his Majesty's ships (which is not settled,) for Alexandria, and I shall immediately send off a despatch for the Red Sea. I hope that I shall now be vigorously supported by all my friends in England with respect to my views in favour of Abyssinia. You know me well enough to be satisfied that I look to no personal advantages from this quarter; at the same time I am ready to make all possible sacrifices to accomplish the objects I have so much at heart respecting that country. The only thing wanting will, I fear, be the funds for necessary presents, &c.; but of this I will write to you more fully and particularly from Egypt. I have now got into the regular course of the packet, and shall not miss any opportunity that may occur of writing to you. The first object is to establish an intercourse regularly with Pearce, and this I will immediately set about on my arrival. By a strange mistake I have not received a single letter at this place, everything having been forwarded on to Alexandria. I hope to find there letters from you; if you have not written, pray do immediately, and as often as possible.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

Yours most truly, H. S."

"The Viscount Valentia."

By the packet which conveyed the above letter, Mr. Salt addressed the following to his friend William Hamilton, Esq. the learned and distinguished author of the Egyptiaca, in which he gives an animated description of his passage over the Semplon, and a very prepossessing account of the society at Geneva.

"Malta, 28th Jan. 1816.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have the pleasure of informing you of my arrival at this place, after a very delightful tour over the Continent. At Geneva I spent some time very agreeably with our friend Colonel Leake, and was gratified in beholding the simplicity of manners which still prevails among the inhabitants. To this is joined so much general knowledge, respect for science, and love for the polite arts, as to render their society singularly interesting, and their urbanity and attention to the English is unequalled. We passed over the Semplon at the most favourable season possible for admiring the scenery; it is magnificent beyond description, and affords continual subjects for the pencil. The impending rocks covered with pines, the fertile meadows interspersed with trees, the neat and picturesque

villages on the hills, the stupendous mountains in the distance, half covered with snow and floating clouds, and half sparkling with the richest vegetation, produced a brilliant assemblage of forms and colours which cannot be surpassed. It is the very country for a landscape-painter, and every student, brought up to that profession, ought to spend two years at least there, to make himself master of its various beauties.

"I found Mr. Hoppner living very comfortably at Venice with his wife, who is a very amiable woman. I am afraid that the plague at Corfu will occasion him great annoyance, as all his fees depend upon the intercourse with the Ionian islands. Venice, under the Austrian tyranny, is fast sinking into insignificance, and presents a melancholy picture of abject wretchedness, degradation, and the faded splendour of former magnificence. The collection of pictures, which remains there, is still one of the finest in the world, and no person can form a just idea of the merits of Tintoret, or of Paul Veronese, without having visited it. The strength of their effects, and the splendour of their colouring, quite astonish the beholder; for though I have come so immediately from Paris, all the

works there appear mean and poor in comparison with the extraordinary paintings of these unrivalled masters. I have drawn up some observations on the pictures which I saw at Venice, Bologna, Florence, and Rome, and, should the subject interest you, will with pleasure forward them for your perusal.

" I met with a very learned Abbé at Bologna, of the name of Mezzofanti, who understands six and twenty languages. * * I also became acquainted with Signior Akerblad at Rome, who is another of these extraordinary linguists —his knowledge is *confined to twenty-three;* but he has besides made some successful efforts in decyphering the hieroglyphics, and has promised to assist me in my Egyptian researches. * * * * I received great pleasure during a short stay at Naples, in visiting the many interesting objects in the neighbourhood, but was delighted above all with Pompeia, which I took some pains to examine thoroughly.

" When I get quietly settled, I will send you plans of some of the most remarkable of the remains, if you think it will be interesting to your children; perhaps, as they go on with their classics it may be of some use to them, as I am not aware that any school account of the

place has been published in England.
I expect to proceed hence in a few days for Alexandria. The Governor and the Admiral here have been very obliging in their attentions. Should anything interesting occur in Egypt, I will send you word of it, and hope, in return, that you will have the goodness to let me hear from you, with any literary or political news that you may learn. I beg my best compliments to Mrs. Hamilton; and remain

Your sincere friend, H. S."

"To William R. Hamilton, Esq."

Contrary to his expectations and wishes, Mr. Salt was detained at Malta for some weeks, in consequence of no English ship of war arriving on the station to carry him to Egypt; and it was not till after the 16th of February 1816, that an opportunity was furnished him for his departure. In the course of this period he wrote me several short letters, from which the following are extracts.

"Malta, Jan. 22, 1816.

"DEAR HALLS,

"You will, I am sure, sympathise with me in my miseries when I inform you that, by a little mistake of Richards's, all my letters, packages,

&c. from England, have been forwarded to Alexandria previously to my arrival at this place. In consequence of which I am totally ignorant of all that has happened in England since my departure, except what I have gleaned from the public papers. The Governor* here has been very attentive to me, and so has the Admiral,† which has made the time pass agreeably enough; but, under the circumstances I have mentioned, it is very hard to be detained from proceeding. The detention is occasioned by the want of a vessel on the station fit for the service. The Admiral thinks it ought to be a frigate; but whether it prove *that*, or a brig, I shall be glad to take the first that comes in. In all probability, therefore, it will not be more than three or four days before my departure.

"The Governor here is a man of good sound sense, and has, I am glad to say, taken a very proper view of the affairs of Egypt. He thinks it of great consequence to keep up a more intimate connexion between this place and Alexandria, and has, in conjunction with the Admiral, advised that the latter place should be visited, at least, twice a year by one of our frigates. This

* Sir Thomas Maitland.

† Admiral Sir Charles Penrose.

will render my situation more agreeable, and will enable me, with the occasional vessels that leave the port, to keep up a very regular intercourse with my friends. As correspondents, you and I have both great room for amendment. I mean to set you a good example in this respect, and hope you will in like manner reform. * * * *

"I have, you will be glad to hear, received a letter from Pearce, by which it appears that, though he has suffered most dreadfully, yet he has at last got the better of his complaint. The deformity, however, which it has occasioned has nearly led him to a resolution of never leaving Abyssinia; but he hopes to be of service to me still, and has evidently, by the manly style of his letter, rather improved than otherwise in his mental capacity. He writes better, and with fewer faults. * * * * One of my first objects on my arrival in Egypt will be, to open a free intercourse with Pearce, and to send the copies of the Psalms, which have been printed in England, and which are, fortunately, at Alexandria. They are expected in Abyssinia, as it appears by Pearce, and are likely to produce the most favourable impression.

"The Pasha of Egypt is at present residing

at Alexandria. He has gotten the better of his mutinous troops, and, which is very extraordinary for an Eastern prince, has actually reimbursed all the merchants and others who suffered during the rebellion. The trade in corn, which he monopolizes, appears to be enormous. No less than six vessels laden with that and beans, have arrived in this port within this last fortnight. He has several fine vessels of his own, both in this sea and in the Red Sea. With such a man, I should think that a great deal may be done. * * * Remember me kindly to all at home, and believe me

"Most sincerely yours, H. S."

"J. J. Halls, Esq."

A few weeks after the date of the last he again wrote to me.

"Malta, Feb. 16th, 1816.

"DEAR HALLS,

"As I know you will be anxious to hear from me, I cannot let the present packet go off without giving you a line. I am still detained here for want of a vessel, but probably shall have one in a few days, Sir Charles Penrose having sent express for a brig from Smyrna, to take me to Alexandria. My stay here, however, is tolerably agreeable. * * * * Adey, of the Artillery, is

here, whom your sisters know. He desires to be remembered. The Whitmores are all well. The Colonel expects shortly to proceed to the Ionian Islands. Malta is sinking fast, owing to other ports in the Mediterranean being open. It will, during peace, be of little consequence: the merchants will be ruined, and the people starved. Two packets have arrived here, and not a line from you. If this conduct continue, I shall give you up. I wish you would make a journey to Venice; it would be of infinite service to you. The pictures of Tintoret are above all praise. Besides, there is something in a southern atmosphere that every painter should see. The glow given by the sun is decidedly different from anything that can be seen in the regions of the North. Pray think seriously of it. Hoppner would have great pleasure in seeing you at Venice, and in July, August, and September, the journey might be easily accomplished. 'Easy, sir, very easy.' Kindest remembrance to your sisters, Tom, &c. and believe me

"Most truly yours, H. S."

CHAPTER XVII.

Salt's Letter from Malta to his sister, Mrs. Morgan.—His arrival at Alexandria.—Letters to William Hamilton, Esq. descriptive of affairs in Egypt.—Lord Valentia succeeds to the title of Earl of Mountnorris.—Salt's Letter to that nobleman from Cairo. Another Letter from Alexandria, giving an account of his first proceedings in his Consular office, and of his commission from the Earl in regard to the Collection of Antiquities, &c.

During Salt's stay at Malta he wrote the annexed letter to his sister, Mrs. Morgan, which somewhat explains the cause of the great impatience he expresses at his letters, &c. being by mistake sent to Alexandria, and also shows the disturbed state of his feelings upon a subject that has before been noticed. He had left his father, too, in a very declining state, and, I know, quitted England in the full conviction that he should see him no more.

"Malta.

"My dear Bessy,

"Having a great number of letters to write previously to the packet leaving this place, you must consider it a great favour that I give you

even a short epistle, as you will besides hear of me through the medium of my father. My letters having been all sent away to Alexandria, I am quite ignorant of all that has been going on since my departure, and feel therefore particularly anxious respecting the state of my father's health. Let me beg, then, that you will write to me immediately on the receipt of this, and inform me at the same time of all that you know on another subject, upon which I feel scarcely less at ease. Has she been at Lichfield? How does she look? Does she sometimes mention me? Do pray let me hear all that you know respecting her present situation. Where is she? What is she engaged in? And a thousand other questions, which I need not put upon paper. I now feel most severely the miseries of suspense. I would give anything in the world for the letters lying at Alexandria. * * * But all my restlessness and anxiety are vain. I have been detained here some ten days already, from the want of a ship-of-war to carry me to Alexandria, and am likely still to be kept some days longer. The Admiral has just been with me regretting the circumstance, but at the same time promising to give me the first that arrives. You, who know me, will easily conceive my impatience.

"My journey over the Continent was very agreeable. I had opportunities of seeing all that was interesting both in Switzerland and Italy. In the last I visited most towns worthy of note; saw all the great people; paid a visit to the Pope, who received me very graciously; and examined at my leisure all the paintings and fine works of art, which there almost every public building contains. In England we have no idea of magnificence in architecture, or of spending a fortune to gratify the taste of the people; while in Italy all the men of large incomes are content to live in the most moderate way, that they may have the pleasure of exhibiting to their friends and to strangers a fine collection of pictures, or a splendid palace. Comfort is never thought of; that belongs exclusively to England. Italy is, in fact, a country to visit, not to live in. The climate is indeed finer, but there are no green fields to walk in. The winter is somewhat warmer, but they have no fire-sides to sit round on a Christmas evening; and as to their olives, their grapes, and their macaroni, you may buy quite as good, and almost at as cheap a rate, at Mr. Allen's, or any other fruit-shop in England.

"As you, however, possess some taste for

travelling, you would enjoy the many beautiful views that are to be seen in passing through the country, and would be highly amused with the different characters and dresses of the people. Above all things, I should like to have taken you to the top of Vesuvius, where, with some difficulty, I mounted so high above the crater as to be able to look down into the fiery furnace below. We were not above thirty feet from the flames, and the stones that were thrown up passed over our heads. This was a fine situation for an amateur of the picturesque, and it would have given me much pleasure to have seen its effect on your nerves, especially if our friend Mr. Halls had been present, whose head always turns round on looking from an height. Remember me kindly to Mr. Morgan, and to all friends, and believe me to be, my dear Bessy,

"Your affectionate brother, H. S."

"To Mrs. Morgan."

"P.S. I have sent you by the present packet a portrait of myself, done at Geneva by a female artist. If you think it like you will, perhaps, have a pleasure in hanging it up over the mantelpiece in the parlour. Pray write to me as often as possible. Give my best compliments to Dr. Darwin, and tell him that Mr. Dennison and

many of his friends here, have inquired very particularly about him. Also say, I shall be very glad to hear from him when he can find leisure, and that I will with pleasure answer all his queries. H. S."

TO WILLIAM HAMILTON, ESQ.

"Alexandria, March 27th, 1816.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am glad to inform you of my safe arrival at Alexandria, on board his M. S. Woodlark, which was appointed by Sir Charles Penrose expressly for my accommodation from Malta. My reception here has been very gratifying. Colonel Misset and Mr. Lee, the Levant Company's consul, had prepared everything in the pleasantest way for my comfort, and all the foreign consuls stationed here have vied in paying me every possible attention. In a few days, as soon as I have arranged the business of the Consulate with Colonel Misset, I shall proceed to Cairo, where the Pasha at present resides, though it is said that in a short time he proposes to come down to Alexandria to spend the summer, for which purpose he has lately built a magnificent house, on the point where formerly stood the Plague Hospital. If this

should prove true, I shall at the same time return to Alexandria, at least, if I can procure any place to put my head in, as just now the town is so crowded with Europeans that it is not possible to hire a house of any kind, or even rooms for a temporary occupation. Colonel Misset has for some time back resided in the Russian consul's house, which, on his going away, is to be occupied by the Austrian consul, who hitherto has been compelled to rest contented with apartments in the house of a friend.

"The trade of Egypt, or rather the Pasha's monopoly, goes on in a very flourishing way. There are not less than an hundred ships in harbour, and more than a third of them under English colours, the greater part of which are waiting for cargoes of grain. The first harvest has been very abundant, and the season is promising for the ensuing crops. The Pasha has made so many alterations in Alexandria that it is scarcely to be recognized for the same place. He has very absurdly, in my opinion, repaired, or rebuilt, the whole line of the old walls, which in consequence have become, instead of picturesque ruins, a regular and ugly mass of modern fortifications, very neatly *chunam'd*, it is true, but too weak, and far too extensive, to prove of

the slightest use in case of a siege. The same misfortune has likewise befallen the old Pharos, which is now completely modernized, and would make a becoming object only for the bottom of a citizen's garden. The line of the walls, so white and so prettily stuccoed, has, among other *improvements*, been carried within Cleopatra's Needle, towards the sea, so as almost to shut it out as an object from the European quarter; and at the eastern corner, where, you may recollect, there stood a particularly fine tower, they have now thrown out a line of wall projecting into the sea, which cuts off all admission by the beach to the baths, and other ruins along the sea-coast leading to the Pharillon.

"To add strength to this *judicious* plan of fortification, the Pasha is now engaged in the Herculean task of levelling the hills outside of the walls. Some hundreds of poor devils of Arabs and buffaloes are engaged in this wise undertaking, which are watched in their labours by a pretty large detachment of troops; yet still, as might be expected, they advance very slowly in their operations, removing heaps of rubbish from place to place without any system, and thus reducing one hill only to form another.

"I had entertained a hope, on first hearing of

this scheme, that some good might result from laying bare the antiquities concealed under these masses of ruins, but, in examining what they have already done, there appears little hope of any valuable discovery resulting from their labours, as they seem to content themselves with merely breaking up the surface, and this they pulverise so completely with the rude machines employed on the occasion, that it must be something very hard indeed which can resist being broken to pieces by their clumsiness. The part on which they have been lately occupied lies about a quarter of a mile west from Diocletian's Pillar. Great masses of large coarse vases, filled with the mummies of fish and birds, have been rooted up there, which is clearly apparent from the bones, scales, and beaks, remaining tolerably entire; but this is scarcely enough, I should think, to satisfy an antiquary of this having ever been the site of a temple.

"I shall contrive to look after their progress in levelling as much as the plague will permit, but, unfortunately, this malady appears at present to be gaining ground both here and at Cairo. It has not as yet got among the Arabs and the Europeans, and consequently they have

not yet absolutely shut themselves up in their houses. Colonel Misset leaves this in a few days for Leghorn, meaning to try the baths of Pisa. He has entirely lost the use of his limbs, but retains great spirits and a surprising energy of mind. I forbear troubling you with any official business, being at present too new in the country; but I see already, from Colonel Misset's correspondence, that it will be a very difficult matter to prevail upon the Pasha to attend to the capitulations, without some interference on the part of the Government.

"When I shall have made myself master of the subject, I will venture to give you a letter on the state of our relations with the country, and, if you will have the goodness to give the business your consideration, I feel assured that, by taking it up in time, everything may be very easily and very satisfactorily arranged. I have omitted to mention, that on our way from Malta we touched at the island of Milo, where the inhabitants have lately discovered a theatre of white marble, which appears, from the little that has yet been exposed to view, to be in very perfect preservation. The seats at present opened are seven in number, beautifully worked out of large masses

of the finest marble, and forming the segment of a circle, the diameter of which, if complete, would measure a hundred and sixteen feet.

"The situation of this theatre is one of the finest that can be imagined; it stands about an hundred feet above the level of the sea, and commands in front a noble prospect, over the harbour, to the mountains on the opposite side, and is backed by lofty hills rising, one behind the other, up to the turreted village of Castro. Immense ruins of solid walls stand close by, and some remains of inscriptions have been found in the neighbourhood, two fragments of which I enclose. The former is cut on a white marble pedestal, which has been much injured, and the latter is said to have formed part of a large inscription which a bigoted Pápá obliged the inhabitants to break in pieces, to prevent the Europeans from disturbing his holy retreat, a cottage which he had built on an adjoining hill, where many remains of a white marble temple are still to be traced. This priest is luckily dead, or otherwise the theatre would have been in great danger of sharing the same disastrous fate.

"From the site of this theatre I should conceive that it was intended for naval exhibitions

in the port below, as it is constructed immediately on the brow of a hill, having in front scarcely room for the proscenium. Of this, however, it is not possible to judge very correctly till the whole shall have been laid open; an operation neither very expensive, nor very difficult to accomplish, as the inhabitants are almost like a colony of English, and would be glad to give their assistance in any work that would tend to the renown of the island. I beg to be remembered to Mrs. Hamilton and your young family, and that you will believe me,

"Your very sincere and obliged friend, H. S."

"Sheik Ibrahim, who is at Cairo, is in good health, and preparing for another expedition.

"W. R. Hamilton, Esq."

TO WILLIAM HAMILTON, ESQ.

"DEAR SIR, "Boulak, 18th June, 1816.

"I had hoped before this time to have had the pleasure of hearing from you; but I suppose that you are too much engaged to be able to spare time for any but official duties. Having been informed by Mr. Bidwell of Mr. Morier's departure from England, I have thought it correct to address my official communications to you. In the despatch I have forwarded by this

conveyance, you will find a request from the Pasha, which he urged very earnestly, respecting one of his corvettes being permitted to sail round the Cape of Good Hope into the Red Sea, and I confess that I feel anxious it should be granted, notwithstanding what I formerly said on the subject; as it would make a very favourable impression on his mind in my favour, which in the outset is of great consequence, and will be attended, I conceive, with advantage to the British interests, for the reason I have stated in my public letter. Under these circumstances, I hope it may meet your approbation, and that you will, if this should prove the case, have the goodness to second my application.

"On our way up from Alexandria, I stopped at Sai el Haggar, being led there by a remark in your book. The ruins are about two miles from the river, are of great extent, and certainly very interesting. Two large squares, inclosed with massive walls of unburnt brick, form, as at Bubaster and elsewhere, the leading features. In the centre of these are numerous fragments of granite and other materials used in the construction of Egyptian temples. About half a mile from the largest of these, is the site of what was evidently an immense temple, where

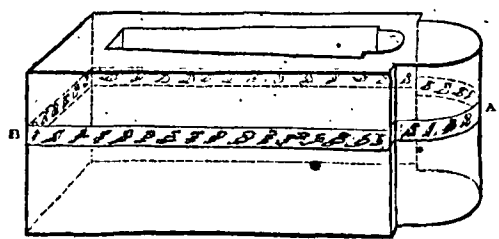
the inhabitants in digging have lately discovered a superb sarcophagus of dark-coloured granite, too heavy, I believe, to carry away, highly polished, and having a single band of hieroglyphics encircling it, and executed in the best style as those at Bahbeit. The cover, which also consists of one massive stone, has at some former period been removed and broken into three pieces, one part of which remaining, proves it to have been of an uncommon shape, rising thus, as if it had ended with a statue, under which also are to be traced a few hieroglyphics.

"The shape of the sarcophagus answers precisely to the usual form of the mummy cases, and proves very clearly, as you have stated, that the bodies were laid horizontally; for had this tomb been intended to stand on one end, the hieroglyphics would not have entirely surrounded it, as is the case in this instance. Niebuhr mentions that he saw at Cairo another splendid sarcophagus which had been removed from this spot; so that we can no longer hesitate in adopting the opinion you have expressed, that this is the ancient Sais, and I cannot think it very unlikely that on the spot I have described stood the temple of Minerva, in which

were deposited the tombs of the ancient kings*; so that this very sarcophagus may have been opened, had its cover broken, and been despoiled of its contents as far back as the time of Cambyses! which, I may say, is confirmed by its having been found buried about fifteen feet under the surface. The band of hieroglyphics is quite perfect, and among the figures, the owl is found thirteen times, being one of the most frequent characters, so that this bird may have been sacred to the goddess Neith before her worship was adopted at Athens. One emblem, as you must have observed in Lower Egypt, generally stands conspicuous, as the goose at Bahbeit, and the goat at Tmai.

"If you have not paid attention to Lord Valentia's account of the ruins at the latter place, it is well worth your looking to, near the end of the third volume. This is the first description, I believe, given of them, and they are of great importance in the geography of Lower Egypt, being undoubtedly remains of the ancient Thmuis, which serves to confirm the correctness of your San, as it answers precisely in its relative position and distance to that Thmuis mentioned next to Tanis in the Itinerary of Antonine. These ruins have been since visited by Sheik

Ibraham, who describes them to be about ten miles east-south-east from Mansoura, which is more south than Lord Valentia placed them, and that they are near the branch of a canal. I have omitted one important fact to be drawn from the hieroglyphics on the aforesaid sarcophagus, of which, that you may understand it, I here give you a sketch or section.



These characters are carved in such a way that half turn their heads to the left and half to the right, meeting precisely in the centre at top (A) and bottom (B), which at least proves that they were intended to be read from right to left, as well as from left to right. And, further, if we suppose, as appears natural, that they commenced at the head (A), it then would confirm Dr. Young's idea, that in reading them you should commence from the side to which the figures look, or, as it may be expressed, from head to tail; all the characters being here inclined towards (A) as to a common centre.

"But by this time you will have had enough of antiquities; I will therefore conclude, and beg you to believe me,

"Your very obliged and sincere friend, H. S."

"P.S. May I take the liberty of requesting that you will speak a word to Mr. T. Bidwell, jun. about my money concerns, and assist him, if possible, in obtaining payment of my salary, or otherwise I shall be placed in a very awkward predicament. I have spent upwards of 2000*l.* since my appointment, in fitting out, in the voyage, &c.. and have received not quite 200*l.* after deducting office fees, &c. as Mr. B. will explain. He has been very obliging in advancing me 200*l.*, or before this my bills must have been dishonoured. I will thank you also to inform me through the same, how I am in future to draw for my pay."

"The Nookta fell last night, and the plague, so it happens, has ceased at Cairo. Sheik Ibrahim desires to be remembered; he has just returned, as black as a negro, from Mount Sinai. I had a note from your brother at Constantinople, yesterday, who seems to think even Pera dull. * * * I have had, of course, no opportunity of doing anything about the inscription at Alexandria. Your brother, should he finish.

the Antar, in the time proposed, may be considered as a second Hercules—thirteen thick folio volumes in one year!—H. S."

To prevent any confusion with respect to persons, it will be as well to mention in this place, that the late Earl of Mountnorris died in the spring of this year, and was succeeded in his titles and estates by his son the Viscount Valentia, the present Earl, whose only child, the Hon. George Annesley, became in consequence the Viscount Valentia: in future, therefore, I shall designate the Viscount, whose name has been so often mentioned in the foregoing pages, by the title of the Earl of Mountnorris. Mr. Salt had not long been established in his consulship, when intelligence of the above event reached him, and he immediately addressed his lordship on the occasion.

"Cairo, Oct. 30th. 1816,
from our Consular Mansion.

"My dear Lord,

"I had for some time been preparing a long packet for you, when 'yours' of August the 5th, yesterday arrived, bringing a confirmation of the death of the late Earl. * * * * At present I have merely time to congratulate you, from my heart, on the acquisition of your new

honours, and to express a fervent hope that all your plans may succeed. In a short time you will receive from me a full account of my proceedings in Egypt, and a pretty satisfactory description of antiques already collected for your museum. * * * * My collection of coins for Lord Valentia, to whom I beg most kindly to be remembered, begins to increase, and in a little time will, I hope, be worth forwarding. As I do not mean to send anything without taking a sketch of it, I hope you will not be in a hurry for your goods. I will take care to forward them by the best conveyance, and in this I shall be able to get some assistance from Admiral Penrose, who has proved a very kind friend.

"Believe me to be, my dear Lord,

Your most sincere friend, H. S."

P.S. Particular circumstances oblige me to send this in great haste. Your letters are the only satisfactory ones I have yet received; so pray let me hear often, and now I am settled you may depend upon hearing from me by most packets. H. S."

"To the Earl of Mountnorris."

Previously to Mr. Salt's leaving England, he had been requested by Lord Mountnorris to

collect Egyptian antiquities for his museum at Arley Hall, and his son, the young Lord Valentia, had also begged him to procure for him a collection of ancient coins whenever an advantageous opportunity presented itself. The following letter gives some account of the progress he had made in these matters, and also details his first proceedings after he had been established in his Consular office.

"Alexandria, Dec. 28th, 1816.

"My dear Lord,

"You will have seen by my former letter from Alexandria, that I got over to that place from Malta in a brig of war, sent express by Admiral Penrose, whose friendship I was fortunate enough to acquire during my stay in the island. I found Colonel Misset in a very low state of health, having entirely lost the use of his limbs, but at the same time possessing excellent spirits, and a clear head for business. He made over the Consulate to me, I may say, with real satisfaction; entertained me in his house, during my stay in Alexandria, and very obligingly communicated everything that was likely to assist me in my future proceedings. As the plague was at that time raging throughout Egypt (in April), I thought it best to get up as quickly as possible

to Cairo. On my way I visited Tussen Pasha, Mahomed Alli's favourite son (who is since dead) at Berimbal; stopped a few hours to visit the ruins of Sal Hajjar, the ancient Sais, and proceeded to a small tower at Boulak belonging to Boghoz Yusuff, first interpreter to his highness, where we shut ourselves up in quarantine.

"This house was a perfect oven; the sun glaring full upon the only windows we had in front for ten hours, and the kitchen at the back supplying us with almost an equal quantity of hot air. Near it stood a mosque, where all those who died of plague in the neighbourhood were buried, so that, as they passed under our windows, we had a fine opportunity of studying all the varieties of funeral processions—one of which I think of sending home to amuse Lady Banks. June at last came, and then the plague ceased, and I paid first a private visit, and afterwards a public one, to the Pasha. He received me most graciously, and was in reality much delighted that a person had been sent with whom he was in some degree acquainted, and not, as he observed, 'a stiff unaccommodating Englishman.' At my public visit I received a capital horse, which has turned out uncommonly well, and a pelisse lined with sables, an honour never before

conferred on a Consul here. Some glass ware, beautifully cut, and silver stands, which I had chosen as a present for him, gave great satisfaction: as did also the pistols and guns which I afterwards gave to his sons. In compliment to Colonel Misset I confirmed all his agents in their stations. * * * * *

"In August, by order of the Pasha, I obtained a house for my residence near the French quarter, which is likely to suit me exceedingly well. It is irregular, but has two large salles and my own bedroom, or rather library, looking on really a respectably-sized garden, and plenty of other rooms for my secretary and the strangers who occasionally visit us. The halls are all paved with variously coloured marbles, and the ceilings of the rooms painted in the Constantinopolitan style. Nothwithstanding this, it was so out of repair, that it has cost me already 250*l.* to put it in order, and before it is finished, it will come to one half as much more; besides 400*l.* I have paid to Colonel Misset for furniture, and the same sum to others on a like account; so that I should have been greatly distressed for money, as my salary is three-quarters in arrears, had it not been for the kindness of Mr. Briggs, whose house advanced whatever sums I

stood in need of. The expenses, however, of the establishment necessary to keep up the Consular respectability, will render it somewhat difficult for me to confine myself within my income; as to saving, it is totally out of the question.

My house-rent is fifty pounds per annum. I have three horses to keep with their grooms, two janisaries, a steward, cook, two footmen, and a gardener; a camel to fetch water from the Nile; a sackia, or water-carrier; a bourique, or jackass, for odd jobs; a bullock, for the garden and mill, and a washerwoman. Provisions are not cheap, and everything else very dear. Besides those above enumerated, there is my secretary, whom I provide with everything. All these expenses are absolutely indispensable, and, as you may well believe, cannot be defrayed for much less than the whole amount of my salary, which, even since the income-tax has been taken off, does not amount to 1500*l.* * * *

"You will hear with pleasure that I manage to get on uncommonly well with the Pasha. His interpreter, Mr. Boghoz, is a very gentlemanlike and agreeable man, and as much attached to the English as the interests of his master will allow. Just before I left Cairo, I

visited his highness, when he invited me to stay and partake of his dinner; and afterwards he walked with us nearly two hours in his new garden, where we found most delicious fruit of various kinds. He is a sensible, and, for a Turk, an extraordinary man, and were he not hampered by the prejudices of those around him, we should soon see a different state of things in Egypt. He has taken all the produce of the country into his own hands, and is himself the greatest manufacturer and merchant in the state. His revenue is enormously increased, and yet, though the merchants cry out, they are all making money, and fresh European adventurers are daily flocking in to the country. The French influence is at a low ebb, and the English proudly predominant; so that I have continual applications from those foreigners who have no Consul of their own, to be permitted to rank themselves under our banners. In fact, the Pasha will scarcely attend to any other remonstrances but those which I present: a truth so generally admitted, that the merchants, in all emergencies, apply for my good offices in their favour. This superiority is, in some measure, owing to the government of France having ordered their Consul-General to reside at Alexan-

dria, which leaves me at Cairo undisputed master of the field. Poor old Rosetti, though still alive, is unequal to interfere. * * * The other Consuls-General reside in Alexandria, * * * but none of them have much weight in public affairs. * * * *

"I am at present on a visit to our Consul, Mr. Lee, for the purpose of making myself better acquainted with our Alexandrian affairs. I brought a strong letter from the Pasha to the Governor, ordering the strictest attention to all my wishes, and I have found, upon the whole, great reason to be satisfied.

"Having fortunately obtained the promise of Governor Maitland to support me, as well as the cordial co-operation of the Admiral, I do not entertain a doubt of being able to increase our influence with the Pasha, notwithstanding I cannot get a line from Downing Street in answer to my despatches. The Pasha particularly wants to send a ship round the Cape of Good Hope, which, under existing circumstances, could do no possible harm. I am anxious that permission should be given to me to grant him a passport, without the Government directly interfering. The ship would never perhaps reach her destination, but at least the Pasha would

be satisfied. I shall be almost tempted, if I receive no orders to the contrary, to give the passport on my own responsibility. There is no law against his undertaking it without our permission, and I do not think an act of hostility would be ventured for such a trifle. Let me request your lordship, if an opportunity should occur, to speak to Mr. Hamilton on the subject, as I assure you it is of real importance, owing to the interest which the Pasha takes in the scheme. I have written to all our Governors in India, but have not yet received their answers, though I have had a very obliging letter from Warden, secretary to the Bombay Government.

"I have no news from Pearce or Coffin. A report has reached Cairo that they are both well; but that my friend the Ras is dead, and that the country is consequently in a very disturbed state. This news is of doubtful authority. I shall probably soon have letters from that part, as this is the season for ships coming up to Suez. A Mr. Ramsay has been appointed to Mocha, who has written and expressed his wish to do all he can to assist me. I want nothing but money to establish a small packet or somauli boat, at Suez.

"For some time after my arrival, owing to the plague, I met with no antiques, which are become difficult to purchase; and I found that Monsieur Drovetti, the quondam French Consul, was in Upper Egypt, buying up everything there to complete a collection upon which he has been engaged some years. This collection, which I have lately had an opportunity of examining, contains a great variety of curious articles, and some of extraordinary value. * * * The whole is intended for sale, and I have tried to persuade him to send proposals to the British Museum: but do not know whether it is rich enough to buy it. The collection, I imagine, will not be sold for less than three or four thousand pounds.

"Since our release from quarantine, I have taken every possible means to collect, and am glad to say that I have been very successful; so that I shall in spring have to send you a cargo of such things as I believe you have not before seen. I must however inform you, that I am so bit with the prospect of what may still be done in Upper Egypt, as to feel unable to abstain from forming a collection myself; you may however depend upon coming in for a good share, and though my collection may prevent yours from being unique, yet you may rely upon

the refusal of it, should I ever part with it, and upon my leaving it to you should I die. In the first instance I have been compelled to launch into considerable expense to establish a name; but shall not have occasion to trouble you for more money, at present, than what I mentioned in my last, 200*l.* I have two articles alone to send you which I consider worth double the sum; of what description it may be an amusement to you to guess!

"I have got together some coins for Lord Valentia, but you must inform him that good ones are very scarce. * * *

"You will be glad to be informed that I enjoy my health remarkably well, much better than in England. I am grown thin; but have lost all my stomach complaints. Thank God I have reason to be greatly satisfied; my books and the antiquities round me afford me never-failing amusement, and the influence and power of doing good attached to my situation, satisfy all that I have left of ambition in my mind. * * * As I propose, in a short time, to visit Upper Egypt, I will not fail to attend to your wishes about seeds, &c.

"As to sending a mummy entire, it is almost impossible, owing to the objections made by the captains of ships to carry them. There are

some at Alexandria that have waited four years. If I can get a good head, you may depend on having it, and with respect to the cases I hope there will be no difficulty. * * * I have copied the inscription on the column a second time, and have made out, I believe, the name of the Prefect. As soon as I arrive at Cairo, whither I shall proceed in a few days, I will forward it to Hamilton for the Antiquarian Society. You know, I imagine, that the French Institute did me the honour of choosing me one of their foreign correspondents. I shall send them a copy of the inscription, and shall endeavour to fix the honour of the discovery on the right shoulders. Monsieur Chateaubriand received the copy from Monsieur Drovetti, who thinks it was taken from mine. I wish you would look to this point, which will be easily determined by his having ANIKHTON or CEPACTON; if the latter, it must have been copied from that made by Messrs. Hamilton, Leake, and Squire. * * *

"I shall not make up my boxes before March, as the passage in winter is very precarious; and if I happen to be in Upper Egypt, then it may be later.

"Believe me yours very sincerely, H. S."

"The Earl of Mountnorris."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Salt's Correspondence with Pearce.—Death of the Ras.—Mr. Coffin's Adventures.—Death of the elder Mr. Salt.—Salt's application to Lord Castlereagh for leave of absence.—Refused by that Minister.—Timely accession of Fortune.—Recommended by Sir Joseph Banks to collect Antiquities for the British Museum.—How rewarded by that Institution.—Curiosities forwarded to Lord Mountnorris.—Injuries suffered in the transmission to England.—Removal of the gigantic Head of the younger Memnon.—Salt's first acquaintance with, and kindness to Belzoni.—The latter employed by Mr. Burkhardt and Salt.—Account of Belzoni in a Letter to Lord Mountnorris.—Salt's depression of spirits.—Another Letter to Lord Mountnorris.

One of Mr. Salt's first cares, on his arrival in Egypt, was to write to Pearce in answer to several letters he had received from him, but which had hitherto been left unnoticed on account of the erroneous reports of his and Coffin's death. At Malta, however, he received a letter from the former, acquainting him that his health was greatly improved, and that both he and his

companion were then living with the Ras at Chelicut. The following are extracts from Mr. Salt's reply.

"Cairo, April 28th, 1816.

"DEAR PEARCE,

"Colonel Misset having informed me that he wrote to you some time ago in answer to a letter which you sent by this route, in which he informed you of my being appointed his Majesty's Consul-General in Egypt, you will not of course be surprised at this letter. I arrived here about ten days ago, and took upon me the duties of the office; Colonel Misset, my predecessor, having departed for Europe. About a year back I received letters from Major Rudland in India, giving me a circumstantial account of your death; you may easily believe how much I felt shocked at this intelligence, as were all your other friends in England. This report of course prevented my writing, as I thought my letters were likely to fall into bad hands. I was also induced, on the same account, to keep back a letter from your brother, whom I often saw in England, strongly expressive of his attachment to you; indeed, I assure you that your reported death gave real concern, not only to every branch of your family, but also to every person

who had read the narrative of your proceedings in Abyssinia, which I published in the account of my last mission to that country.

"It was not till my arrival at Malta on my way here, about two months since, that I received your letter, dated February 28th, 1815, from Chelicut, which had followed me all the way by Mocha, Bombay, and England, to Malta, in which you give me the account of your late severe illness, and of your fortunate recovery. I immediately wrote to your brother to inform him of your being still alive, and I am sure he will be delighted at receiving the news. I lament most sincerely the hard fate you have met with from your late dreadful malady; but at the same time I beg you not to attribute this misfortune to any particular circumstances in your former life. I saw your father myself, as I told you, before his death, and so far from cursing you, he often blessed you, and spoke of you with real affection. Your errors were never those of the heart. The wildness of youth led you to ramble abroad, and got you into great difficulties; but recollect that it also led you into Abyssinia, where you have done more for your country and for the poor inhabitants of Abyssinia, than generally falls to the lot of in-

dividuals. Keep up your courage, therefore, rely on God for support, and you will never want friends. My power has not hitherto been equal to my wishes to render you service; but now that I hold a high situation, and so near you, you may depend upon my doing all in my power to benefit you.

"Poor Rudland, since he wrote to me, is, as you may have heard, himself dead; he died at Surat of a violent fever. * * * * Pray, on the receipt of this, sit down and give me an accurate account of your present situation; of your health in the first place, and whether I can send you any medicines that will be of use; next of your means of living, and how far I can assist you by sending you money or other articles; thirdly, every particular about Coffin, and how I can be of use to him. * * * * Fourthly, as exact an account as you can give of the state of the country, of my good and kind friend the Ras, and also of every other person respecting whom I am interested. * * * * *

"I am glad my friend Subegadis has returned to his duty, and hope he continues a firm friend to the Ras; Guebra Michael, of Temben, is he still your friend? I hope so, for I conceive him to be one of the ablest men in Tigré. * * * *

The Pasha of this country, who is a man of great power, and anxious to do all the good he can, sent some time ago a messenger up either to the Ras, or to the King, with presents. Did you hear any thing of this circumstance? and how was he received? * * * * I hear that Nayib Idris is dead: have you heard much of the brother who succeeded him? They tell me that the Ras gave him some villages lately for permission to let the Abuna pass: is this true? Where does the Abuna reside, and what kind of a man is he? If you like, I will get letters from the Patriarch here, ordering him to pay you every attention.† * * * *

"I have sent you ten copies of the Psalms, published in Ethiopic, for the Abyssinians, as specimens; four of them handsomely bound in red, and six plain. I have about two hundred of the last, and about twenty of those in fine bindings to send you when I can find an opportunity, which you will give away to those that they will be of most use to. You understand

† This was the dissolute, and apparently insane Abuna, so frequently mentioned in Pearce's Journal. Mr. Salt, it will be remembered, afterwards procured an order from the Patriarch to the above effect, which produced a beneficial change in the conduct of the Abuna, as far as respected Pearce.—E.

already that I want a whole copy of the Scriptures; the price would be of no consequence if you can get it well done, and can manage to draw, through some of the Greeks, upon me for the money.

"Have you never yet seen any other ancient stones, or curious monuments with inscriptions upon them, or any of those odd things which you know I like? If you should discover any, and could copy them for me, I shall be delighted. * * * * As I shall remain, in all probability, some years in Egypt, you may look forward to hear often from me, and to receive whatever you may write for, that it may be in my power to send you. * * * * Take care in your letters to say nothing against the Mohammedans, or Turks, for fear the letters should be opened. If you write in their *praise*, I shall always understand you.

"H. S."

"To Mr. Nathaniel Pearce."

The foregoing letter, another to Mr. Coffin, and a number of useful and necessary articles were packed up in a box and intrusted to the care of a Greek merchant travelling to Adowa and Gondar; he also received thirty dollars from

Mr. Salt, which together with the other presents were to be divided as equally as possible between Pearce and Coffin. They were fortunate enough to get the whole in safety, and the supply came most opportunely.

More inauspicious times, however, awaited them on the death of their old friend the Ras, who died on the 28th of May 1816, exactly one month after the date of the above letters. The whole of Abyssinia was thrown, as is usual on such occasions, into the most dreadful state of civil war, and for several years Pearce and Coffin had, in a great measure, to depend for subsistence upon the precarious bounty of some of the contending chiefs. The former, from the wretched situation to which his malady had reduced him, was generally incapable of taking anything like an active part in the commotions which devastated the country; but Coffin, who had sided from a feeling of gratitude with the friends of the late Ras, distinguished himself highly on several occasions by his conduct and courage, and received many severe wounds in the course of the desperate conflicts in which he was engaged.

During a period of some years, Coffin led a life of singular trial and vicissitude: at times

obliged to seek for refuge in the Giddams, or sacred places, and at others to shelter himself in the wilder and more inhospitable parts of the country; sometimes for months detained a close prisoner, with an unfortunate companion chained to his side till his ransom could be raised by his friends, and then emerging from his captivity with the title of Basha, and at the head of two or three thousand followers, again becoming serviceable to his party, and formidable to his enemies.

Affairs continued in Abyssinia in this distracted state for some years, till the abilities and courage of Subegadis, the late Ras of Tigré, overcame all his opponents, and left him undisputed master of the country. Coffin, like others, having made his peace with this distinguished chieftain, was received into the highest favour, and remained at his court till he quitted Abyssinia early in the year 1827, charged with a species of mission by Subegadis to the Government of England.

Pearce had in the mean while very fortunately, but not without considerable risk, contrived to make his escape from the country, at the close of the year 1818, to Egypt, where he joined Mr. Salt in the following year. He had, in

common with Mr. Coffin, suffered greatly during the two or three preceding years, and probably both might have perished, had it not been for the supplies of money and other articles with which they had frequently been furnished by the kindness of Mr. Salt. After the death of Pearce, the same liberality was continued to Mr. Coffin which he had previously experienced, and on a still more extended scale; the Earl of Mountnorris having at different periods forwarded various sums, through the hands of Mr. Salt, to be employed in promoting his comfort and advantage.

The death of his father, which happened on the 27th of May 1817,* made Mr. Salt anxious to obtain a short leave of absence, in order that he might return to England to arrange his private affairs; and he accordingly wrote to Lord Mountnorris to request him to apply to Lord Castlereagh on the occasion. The permission, however, his lordship felt, upon public grounds, he could not well grant, without the most pressing

* The dates of old Mr. Salt's death and of Lord Castlereagh's letter are, I know, correct, but I cannot reconcile them; probably Henry Salt had learned that his father was dying when he applied for his leave to Lord Mountnorris; but he could not have heard of his death.—E.

emergency to justify his acquiescence, and he accordingly wrote the following very considerate refusal to the application.

"Lord Castlereagh presents his compliments to Lord Mountnorris. He has had the honour to receive his letter of the 24th instant, requesting permission for Mr. Salt, his Majesty's Consul-General in Egypt, to come to England on leave of absence for his private affairs, in consequence of his father's death. Lord Castlereagh would have been happy could he consistently have acceded to Lord Mountnorris's request, but considerations of a public nature, and the circumstance that Mr. Salt has so recently repaired to his post, prevent Lord Castlereagh from granting the permission Lord Mountnorris requests, unless in the event of Mr. Salt's representing it to be a case of very great urgency."

"Foreign Office, 26th June, 1817."

At his father's death Mr. Salt came into the possession of about 5000*l.* and in his circumstances, at that period, nothing could have been more fortunately timed. The previous expenses attendant on the assumption of his new office, and many contingent disbursements which will

be hereafter mentioned, had drained him of all his ready money, and the delay that occurred in the payment of his salary had placed him under the necessity of borrowing considerable sums to meet his immediate demands.

Before he left England, it had been particularly recommended to him by his friend, the late Sir Joseph Banks, to collect antiquities and curiosities for the British Museum, his situation as Consul-General in Egypt, giving him advantages and opportunities which could scarcely have been afforded to a private and unsupported individual. Into this plan he entered with all the natural warmth and ardour of his character, and he hardly had set his foot on the shores of Egypt, before he proceeded to carry it into execution.

In what manner he was rewarded for his exertions, and inconvenient private expenditure, it will hereafter be my unpleasant task to unfold. I will only add, that in developing the circumstances of the case, I shall content myself with simply stating the transaction as it appears in authentic documents, and shall refrain, as much as the nature of the question will admit, from personal allusion, or animadversion.—These observations may perhaps appear rather

premature, but I think it best to premise thus much in order that the reader may more clearly comprehend some letters and occurrences that must precede the subject to which I have just alluded.

Almost immediately after his arrival in Egypt in 1816, Mr. Salt began to form a collection of antiquities for the Earl of Mountnorris, in which undertaking he was more successful than he had at first anticipated. With the assistance of a Mr. Riley, whom he employed as his agent in the following spring in the upper country, he procured a number of very curious specimens, which were afterwards forwarded to his lordship, but unfortunately, from the cases in which they were packed being opened at Malta, a large proportion of the articles were seriously injured from the rough usage they had received; so that, on their arrival in England, very few of them were found in a perfect state, which occasioned no small degree of chagrin to his lordship, and to those who were present at the unpacking of the cases. The circumstance was, however, afterwards fully explained by Mr. Salt, who was informed by his agent, Mr. Dennison, at Malta, that "everything had been opened there on account of their being packed in tow,

and thrown about, most of the numbers rubbed off, and some of the articles broken; but that they had been carefully repacked." When they left Egypt they were in excellent condition, and had been brought with great trouble and expense from Nubia and Thebes.

The following letter explains more fully the cause of the injuries the various articles sustained in their passage to England, and may prove a warning to future collectors.

FROM H. SALT, ESQ. TO THE EARL OF MOUNTNORRIS.

"Cairo, Sept. 26th, 1818.

"My dear Lord,

"I have written you a long letter by Malta, addressed to the Foreign Office, containing a list of all your articles, and a full explanation of the circumstances attending the same, which I doubt not will prove satisfactory. In confirmation of what I have mentioned respecting the treatment of the antiques at Malta, I now inclose you an extract of a letter from Lord Belmore, just received, dated from that island:—

'I have had the mortification to find a terrible wreck among my antiquities which I collected in Egypt, and which I should not trouble you by noticing, only that it may perhaps be of

service to you to be acquainted with it. Many of the best of my small figures are broken to pieces, most of the papyri ground to dust, and everything lying jumbled together in the lazaretto, as so much rubbish. I can easily account for the injury they have sustained. The dread of handling such articles in quarantine, caused them, on opening the cases, to throw out the contents without touching them; and when I found six papyri under the sphinx, which had been entire, but were now ground to pieces, you may easily fancy the little respect they paid to the contents of my cases.'

"This will prove to you clearly, that the appearance of your articles, especially those of calcareous stone, must have been owing to the same sort of treatment. I can assure you, there were many very beautiful when they left this. I have had an obliging invitation from Lord Belmore, to spend the winter with him at Naples, but cannot venture to leave Egypt without permission, which it was impossible to procure in time. I am just going to make a short trip in Upper Egypt with Mr. Bankes, who has been with me some days. He is a most delightful companion, from his extraordinary powers of memory, and the opportunities he has had for

observation. The Pasha will in a short time, I believe, go to Alexandria, so that my absence will not be felt. The only extraordinary occurrence that has taken place since my last is, that an hippopotamus has been killed close to Damietta, which measured eleven feet five inches. I have seen the skin, and got a pretty correct drawing of it, which differs from the generality of those given, by the extraordinary length of the animal compared with the breadth, being only about four feet high, though nearly twelve long. I have also had lately two mountain ibex, from Upper Egypt, alive, which were not known to habit here, and differ much from both Shaw's and Buffon's account.

"I am, my dear Lord, yours very truly,

H. S."

"To the Earl of Mountnorris."

The greatest undertaking, however, engaged in by Mr. Salt at this period was the removal of the gigantic head, generally called that of the younger Memnon, from Thebes to Alexandria. This enterprise was undertaken at the joint expense of the lamented Mr. Burckhardt and Mr. Salt; and Mr. Belzoni, a man of extraordinary bodily, and of considerable mental powers, was

employed by these gentlemen to carry their intention into execution. He was first noticed by Burckhardt, who introduced him subsequently to the knowledge of Mr. Salt. At this time he was out of employ, and apparently in difficulties. He had gone out with his wife (an Englishwoman) to Egypt, chiefly with the design of constructing an hydraulic machine for watering the gardens of the seraglio of Mahommed Ali, but having failed in the undertaking, through the insurmountable prejudices and obstacles he had to contend with in the course of his proceedings, he was dismissed from his employment, and became nearly reduced to a state of distress.

When he first became acquainted with him, Mr. Salt was much struck by his manly appearance, and by his apparently mild disposition and insinuating address. He felt compassion for his misfortunes, and, as will be seen in the sequel, was induced to act towards him with a degree of kindness and liberality which was as inconvenient to his pecuniary affairs as it was, in some respects, ill requited. In stating this, it is by no means my wish to detract in the smallest degree from the perseverance, the zeal, or the ability displayed by Mr. Belzoni in accomplishing the difficult undertakings he was employed to

perform, for in all these matters he is unquestionably entitled to the approbation and praise of every one acquainted with his uncommon and active exertions. No one was more sensible of his merits, in these particulars, than Mr. Salt, and few, as I shall have soon occasion to show, have spoken of him in terms of warmer commendation.

At the time that Mr. Belzoni was employed by Mr. Salt and Sheik Ibrahim (Burckhardt) to remove the gigantic head of the younger Memnon, a list of instructions, to guide him in his operations, was drawn up by those gentlemen. The copy of this, made by Mr. Beechey, and signed in the hand-writing of Messrs. Burckhardt and Salt, is now in my possession, and on the face of it it seems pretty clearly to prove, contrary to his assertions, that Mr. Belzoni undertook the enterprise merely in the capacity of their paid agent. As this document, however, has been already published in his work, it will be unnecessary to insert it, more especially as Mr. Salt's own statement of Belzoni's conduct towards him will be given hereafter. For the present it will be enough to observe, that, besides the above commission, Mr. Salt furnished him with some thousand piasters to enable him

to excavate and buy antiquities, solely on his (Mr. Salt's) account.

As soon as these matters were duly arranged, Mr. Belzoni departed upon his mission. The brilliant success which attended his exertions on this occasion is ably narrated in two articles of the "Quarterly Review," published in 1818, which appear to have been compiled from documents sent over by Mr. Salt, and in which he speaks of the achievements of this singular man in the warmest terms of admiration and enthusiasm. His private letters are equally strong in his praise, and I believe it may be with truth stated, that to his early and disinterested commendations, Belzoni owed much of the popularity and celebrity he experienced on his first arrival in England.

The very flattering terms in which Mr. Salt spoke of Mr. Belzoni (in the papers quoted so often by the "Quarterly Review," and which, I believe, were partly addressed to my friend Mr. Gifford, the late editor, and partly to persons connected with the Foreign Office) were repeated in many letters written to his intimate friends about the same period, in which he gives the full merit of all his various discoveries to this strangely jealous individual.

In a letter to Lord Mountnorris, bearing date the 7th of August 1818, Mr. Salt, in answer to some inquiries of his lordship's respecting Belzoni, writes as follows:—"The Mr. Belzoni, about whom you inquire, and of whom a fair account is given in the last 'Quarterly Review,' (except in so far as concerns the *first* researches in the Pyramids, and the excavation of the Sphinx, *with which he had nothing to do*,* the chief merit of that belonging to Captain Caviglia,) is a Roman, who once performed on the stage feats of strength. He is nearly six feet eight inches in height, very strong, and of extraordinary muscular powers, well skilled in mechanics, and very ingenious in applying common resources to remove objects of great bulk; indefatigable and zealous in whatever he undertakes; and joining to all this, a very intelligent mind. He was commissioned by Sheik Ibrahim and myself to undertake the removal of the head, and at the same time was engaged by me to make researches at Thebes, with most liberal orders in our favour from the Pasha. This was in the

* This accidental misstatement was corrected in the succeeding number of the "Quarterly," but the error has been followed by Mr. Hugh Murray, in his "Historical Account of Africa," (vol. ii. p. 209, second edition.)—E.

year 1816. In October he returned, after accomplishing his object, having commenced the opening of the Temple of Ipsambul, and discovered for me the articles before-mentioned. In consequence of this opening, and seeing the necessity of 'striking while the iron was hot' (to use a vulgar phrase), all the world having begun to look after antiques, and Drovetti having employed half a dozen agents, I succeeded in engaging Mr. Belzoni to stay another year; and accordingly, in 1817, he went up with my secretary, Mr. Beechey, and finished opening for me the Temple of Ipsambul, in which he showed great talent and perseverance, and afterwards discovered for me at Thebes a finer Colossal head than that at the British Museum, and more perfect, though not above half its weight; secured for me the celebrated French stone with six figures; discovered five new tombs, of one of which I have before given you such a flaming description, the paintings giving a new insight into the history of the art; and in the same tomb found for me a sarcophagus of white alabaster, which is of great value, and many other articles.

"As to his monopolizing the credit of these discoveries, I have no objection to it, for I have only the merit of having risked the speculation

and paid the expenses; and besides, the experience of life has taught me to estimate at its just value the opinion of the multitude. I shall in due time produce proof of my benefiting, at least, by these discoveries, by the drawings I have already made; but I am dubious as to farther publication. I want nothing from Ministers, nor from mankind. My mind is settled as to the course of my future life, which I do not expect to be a long one, and the world may pursue its own course as it pleases for me. My only hope is a small independence, some ten years hence, on which I may retire; and if I do not succeed in securing this, I can stay where I am.

"The death of Sheik Ibrahim was a blow, the effects of which will never be erased from my mind, and has convinced me, too strongly perhaps, of the futility of most of our pursuits. * * * * * As to any work upon Egypt, I certainly cannot think of committing myself by any general work, until my materials are more extended. I shall send home by the first man-of-war, all the sketches and plans of the Pyramids, which might very well be published as a first *livraison*, and I could promise to supply another annually, or perhaps two; one on the

Memnon, with all its inscriptions, which I have copied with great care, is almost ready; another, on the new tomb in the King's Valley, with coloured plates, fac-similes; a copy of the harpers, proving the extreme incorrectness of the French, might be ready in Spring; and a fourth, on Matarca, Babylon, Memphis, and the quarries opposite, might soon follow.† * * * Pray have the goodness to consult with Mr. Hamilton on the arrival of my pyramidal sketches, and advise me as to the best plan to be adopted. I should like to make something by their publication, but I would willingly sacrifice profit to the work being got up in a proper style. * * *

"You complain of my not writing and giving my friends notice of what I have done, but I assure you that I have much more reason to

† None of these and some others mentioned, I believe, ever reached England, with the exception of the work on the Pyramids and Sphynx, and that on the King's tomb. Two of the drawings from the last-named work were lent to Belzoni to copy, and, if I remember rightly, appeared in his work, but executed so imperfectly as to give no idea of the beauty and accuracy of the originals. I believe the great expense that must have attended the engraving of the plates, in both the above works, was the reason that the idea of publishing them was dropped. One of them

complain of the little notice taken of what I have written. I wrote to Lord Castlereagh about the head; I wrote a long letter to Mr. —— about it, and have never received thanks from the former, nor even a communication of its arrival from the latter. I wrote a second letter to Mr. —— about the antiquities found by Captain Caviglia at the Pyramids and Sphynx; inclosed a letter from him to the Antiquarian Society, and have never received an answer, nor the slightest notification of their arrival; though I see they are mentioned in the "Quarterly," and the chief merit given to Mr. Belzoni, *who was then in Upper Egypt!* I have written to you twice, and given you accounts of everything interesting, from Thebes, since December, and it appears you have not received them. * * * I have written to Sir Joseph Banks, and received no acknowledgment of my letter; once to Mr. ——, and have been treated in the same way. And I will now ask you, whether the temptation to write is likely to be very urgent? On the contrary, I sometimes feel inclined to vow that I will never set pen to paper again, except on official business. Some of my letters, however, must certainly have miscarried. * * * *.

"Though I feel much better this year than

the last, yet I am sorry to say that Cairo by no means agrees with me. In the months of July and August it is a perfect furnace, and the air very impure and unhealthy. I hope to make some arrangement next year to spend these months at a short distance nearer the Nile, the Pasha having given me a ruined house on its banks, which at little expense may be rendered habitable. The greatest want, however, which I feel, is the society of a wife. My affections are strong, and I want objects around me whom I could love. Had I children I should be happy; but to stagnate thus at a distance from all science, literature, arts, knowledge, delicacy and taste, is a punishment almost sufficient to drive one mad. But, think what we will of it, the wheel must go round. Believe me, my dear lord, with great truth,

"Your sincere friend, H. S."

"The Earl of Mountnorris."

(Private.)

"After paying all expenses about the head, Sheik Ibrahim and I gave Mr. Belzoni a present of two thousand piastres, then fifty pounds. The whole expense, down to Alexandria and embarking, about fourteen thousand piastres,

The above letter is evidently written under considerable depression of spirits. He had suffered much vexation from the indifference and neglect with which his great exertions and pecuniary sacrifices had been requited, and his health the preceding year appears to have sustained a shock from which it never fairly recovered. Fresh disappointments awaited him in the ensuing year, when he wrote another letter to Lord Mountnorris, extracts from which, though somewhat out of order, I shall here insert, as he again refers to Belzoni, and to some other circumstances connected with the contents of the preceding letter.

Cairo, June 1, 1819.

"My dear Lord,

"I have by this packet answered the principal points of your letter, but I cannot let it go, though fatigued to death with writing, without giving you a few lines in answer to the more private part of your letter. * * * * * As to publishing, you must allow me to be my own judge upon that point. I have had enough of it; and if anything had been wanting to deter me, it would have been your last letter. I have done a good deal, and hope to do more, but if I ever publish in future, it will be in my own way

and at my leisure. I want not profit. I want not the ordinary fame which attends modern publication; but I wish to leave something behind me that may deservedly perpetuate my name. This is not to be done in a hurry. Neither my time nor my occupations are my own; and the letter-writing I have, extra my official duties, pretty fully occupies my leisure. I shall, when opportunity serves, occasionally send my drawings to England, but certainly not to be published until I return. You are in the thick vortex of life, and attribute more value than it deserves to the momentary applause of the day. To make a work on Egypt better than Mr. Hamilton's will not be an easy task, whoever undertakes it; and as to all the ephemeral productions of ——, ——, ——, and the rest of the travelling authors, who, as the Indian expresses it, 'take walk—make book,' I envy them not their fame. Neither life nor its concomitant enjoyments have any strong hold upon me; I have suffered too deeply, and seen too much of the vanity and uncertainty of it, ever to make myself a slave to its caprices. * * *. I shall continue to go on as I have always done, and whether it be with an income of fifteen hundred or one, my feelings and actions will not

change. As long as I can keep peace in my own breast, I shall be satisfied. * * *

"You mistake me in supposing there is a work ready on Thebes; to describe and design the ruins of that city, as they ought to be done, would take an individual, who had nothing else to employ him, twenty years. * * * The drawings from the new tomb shall be sent home by the first good opportunity, as they will tend, best of all, to give a just idea of Egyptian art. Belzoni's models will be found interesting, and so will the sketches and outlines he takes home, done for him by a young Italian named Ricci—he himself does not draw so well. I have given him a note for you, that you may see what a strange being it is. Remember and ask him to show you some of the tracings of the outline chamber—they are very fine. Why should I object to his copying and publishing? It was he that made the discovery, though with my money, and surely he deserves to be remunerated. * * *

"We shall be out of quarantine, I expect, in two-and-twenty days, plague having, as I understand, much diminished already. It is a blessed country, as far as concerns its modern state and inhabitants, being as full of intrigue as of pes-

thence. Public business has much increased upon me since I have had the appeals from Alexandria, owing to the great influx of roman and Maltese subjects resident here; so that I have been fagged to death, and am not very stout. H. S."

"P.S. I thank you for Coffin's name for the twenty-pounds, which shall be remitted soon."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

BOSTON
PRINTED BY T. B. WAIT & CO. COURT STREET.

00023529

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WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 15 October, 2018